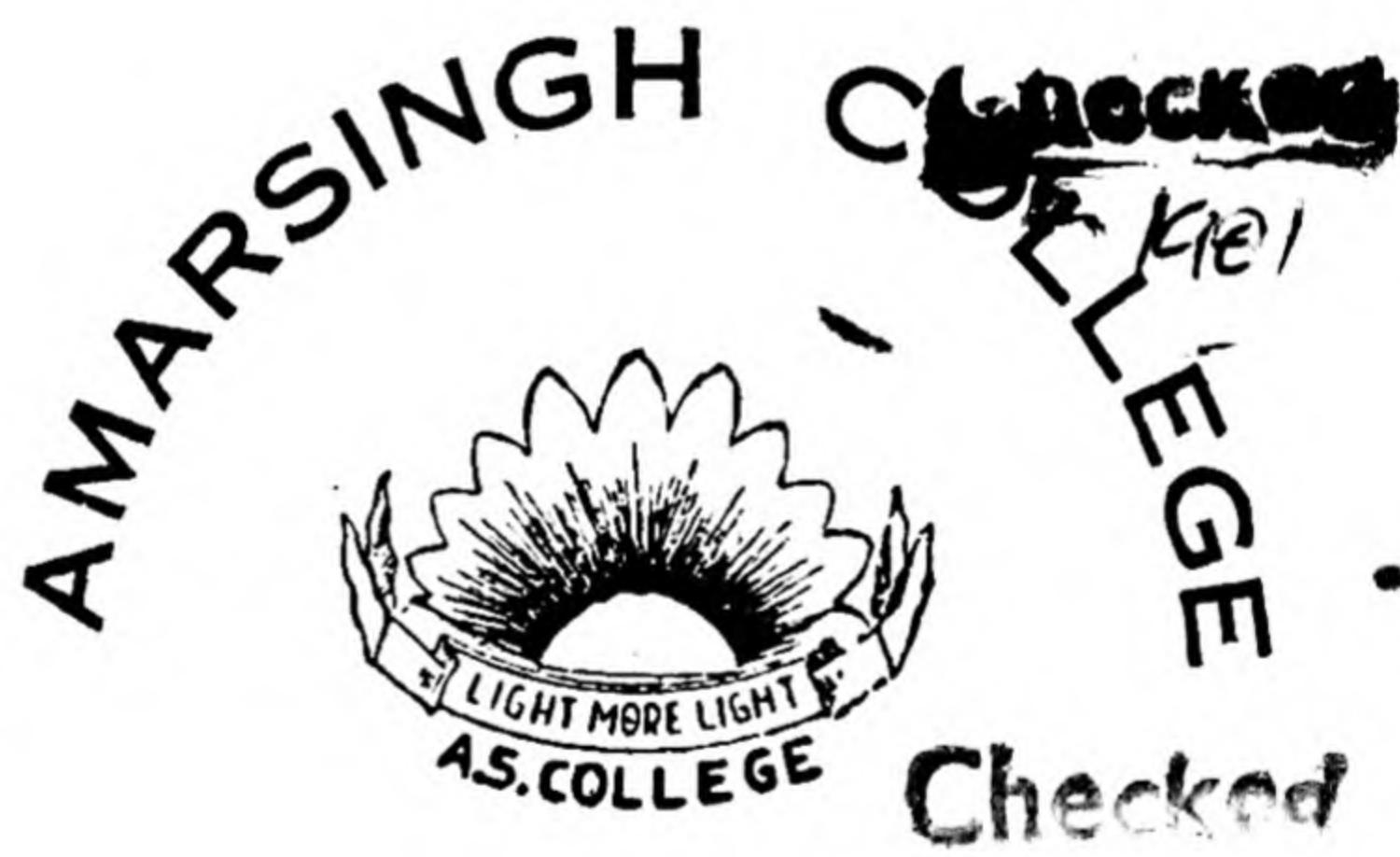




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# SUBUK TIGN

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# THE HISTORY OF INDIA



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# THE **HISTORY OF INDIA**

*As Told By Its Own Historians*

**THE MUHAMMADAN PERIOD**

THE POSTHUMOUS PAPERS

OF THE LATE

**SIR H. M. ELLIOT**

Edited by Prof. John Dowson



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**TARIKHU-L HIND**  
**OF**  
**ABU RIHAN AL BIRUNI**

## PUBLISHERS' NOTE

This book is a reprint of the first three articles from the second volume of the original work.

The first, *Tarikhul Hind* of Abu Rihan Al Biruni, himself an astronomer, geometrician, historian and logician, treats of the literature and science of the Indians at the commencement of the eleventh century. The second, *Tarikh Yaminī* or *Kitabul Yaminī* of Al 'Utbi, deals with the earliest inroads of the Ghaznivide conquerors and traces the rise and progress of that power. The concluding article, *Tarikhul Subuktigin* of Abu-l Fazl Al Baihaki, is devoted to the history of Nasiru-d din Subuktigin.

*Tarikhul Hind* and *Tarikh Yaminī* were translated by Sir H. M. Elliot. *Tarikhul Subuktigin* was translated partly by a munshi and partly by Sir H. M. Elliot.

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## **NOTICE OF SIR HENRY M. ELLIOT**

Henry Miers Elliot was one of fifteen children of the late John Elliot, Esq., of Pimlico Lodge, Westminster, and third son of that gentleman. He was born in the year 1808. Winchester was chosen as the place of his education, and he entered the venerable College of William of Wykeham at the age of ten years. He remained at Winchester eight years, and, ere he left, was one of the senior *præfects*. During his residence there he devoted himself assiduously to the studies of the institution, and shared in its distinctions, having gained both the silver medals for speaking. Eight years passed at Winchester prepared him worthily for admission into that further temple of learning, which may be regarded, in fact, as an outlying portion of the Wykhamist establishment, New College, Oxford. It happened that at the very time, when his future destination was to be determined, an opportunity presented itself, which was then of rare occurrence. From a deficiency of civil servants, consequent upon the consolidation of the British power in India, it became necessary to seek reinforcements, not alone from Haileybury, which was designed merely to supply a fixed contingent, but from new recruiting fields, whence volunteers might be obtained whose varied acquirements might compete with the special training advocated at the East India College : under the pressure of necessity such an exceptional measure was sanctioned by Parliament. Mr. Elliot, having been nominated as a candidate by Campbell Marjoribanks, was the first of the since celebrated

list of Competition Wallahs to pass an examination for a civil appointment direct to India. The exhibition of classical and mathematical knowledge might have been anticipated, but although a year had not elapsed since he left Winchester, where he had no opportunity for pursuing such studies, his proficiency in the Oriental languages proved so remarkable, that the examiners at the India House, placed him alone in an honorary class. He had thus the good fortune to arrive in Calcutta with a reputation that his future career tended not only to maintain but to exalt. After emerging from his novitiate as a writer (the term by which the younger civilians were then distinguished), he was appointed Assistant to the Magistrate, and Collector of Bareilly, and successively Assistant to the Political Agent and Commissioner at Delhi, Assistant to the Collector and Magistrate of Mooradabad, Secretary to the Sudder Board of Revenue for the North-West Provinces, and in 1847 he became Secretary to the Government of India in the Foreign Department. While holding this office he accompanied the Governor-General, Lord Hardinge, to the Punjab, upon the resources of which he drew up a most elaborate and exhaustive memoir. Later in point of time, Sir Henry Elliot filled the same important post during the more effective portion of Lord Dalhotisie's administration. His distinguished services were freely recognized by the Crown as well as by the Company. He received from the former the honour of a K. C. B.-ship; his reward from the latter was hoped for by the well-wishers of India, in the Lieutenant-Governorship of the North-West Provinces, or the higher office of the Government of Madras. Sir Henry died at the early age of

forty-five, while seeking to restore his broken health in the equable climate of the Cape of Good Hope.

In 1846, Sir Henry Elliot printed the first volume of his "Supplement to the Glossary of Indian Terms." The Glossary itself was a pretentious work then meditated, and for which great preparation had been made by the various local governments, as it was intended to comprise the whole series of Indian terms in official use throughout the country, and if, in Professor Wilson's hands, it fell short of public expectation, this was less the fault of the Editor, than of the imperfection of the materials supplied to him; while Sir H. Elliot's "Glossary," on the other hand, received too humble a title, aiming, as it did, at far higher and more important branches of research,—the history and ethnic affinities of the hereditary tribes, with whom he, an isolated Englishman, had lived so long, in intimate official association, settling in detail the state demand upon each member of the Patriarchal Village Communities of North-Western India.

In 1849, Sir Henry Elliot published the first volume of his "Bibliographical Index to the Historians of Mohammedan India," of which the present publication is the more mature extension.



ABU RIHAN<sup>1</sup> MUHAMMAD BIN AHMAD AL BIRUNI AL KHWARIZMI was born<sup>2</sup> about 360 A.H., A.D. 970-71. He was an astronomer, geometrician, historian, and logician. He was so studious that Shamsu-d din Muhammad Shahrazuri, his biographer, tells us "he never had a pen out of his hand, nor his eye ever off a book, and his thoughts were always directed to his studies, with the exception of two days in the year, namely Nauroz (New Year's day at the vernal equinox), and Mihrjan (the autumnal equinox), when he was occupied, according to the command of the Prophet, in procuring the necessaries of life on such a moderate scale as to afford him bare sustenance and clothing." [As a logician he obtained the sobriquet of "*Muhakkik*" or "the exact," on account of the rigorous precision of his deductions].<sup>3</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Raihan would be more correct, according to the Kamus. In Brigg's *Firishta* (p. 113), the name is strangely perverted into "Anvury Khan."

<sup>2</sup> The place of his birth is disputed. His earliest biographer is Shahrazuri, who, in his *Tawarikh-i Hukama*, written shortly after Biruni's death, says that he was born at Birun, in Sind, "a beautiful city full of excellent and marvellous things." He has been followed by Haji Khalfa, by Ibn Abu Ussaibiah, and by Abu-l Fida, on the authority of Ibn Sa'id. M. Reinaud also states that he was a Sindian. Yet, where is this city of Birun in Sind? There is a Nirun, or Nirun Kot, near the site of the present city of Hyderabad, corresponding in position with the Birun indicated by Abu-l Fida, which probably has had its first letter altered by a transposition of the vowel point. But M. Reinaud (p. 195) is distinct in condemning Capt. McMurdo and other English writers who, following Idrisi, read Nirun for Birun. Abu-l Fida's reading cannot be disputed, for he not only gives, but describes the nature of, the diacritical point, and all that can be said against him is that he never was in India, and that he derived his information from others (see Elliot and Dawson's *History of India*, Vol. I, appx. p. 396). In the *Kitabu-l Ansab* by Sam'ani, a book of very great authority, written 562 A.H., A.D. 1166, Biruni is derived from the Persian, and made to apply to any one born out of Khwarizm. Some authorities distinctly assert that he was born at Birun, a town of Khwarizm, but I know not if the existence of such a town has been established. Biruni in his Indian Geography takes little notice of Sind, and says nothing of his birthplace. [The passage quoted from the "Quarterly Review" (*infra*) seems to decide the question, for Biruni is there said to be a native of Khwarizm, and the whole tenor of the article confirms the statement.]

<sup>3</sup> *Memoire sur l'Inde*, p. 29.

[Abu-l Fazl Baihaki who lived about half a century after Al Biruni, says, "Bu Rihan was beyond comparison, superior to every man of his time in the art of composition, in scholarlike accomplishments, and in knowledge of geometry and philosophy. He had, moreover, a most rigid regard for truth"; and Rashidu-d din, in referring to the great writer from whom he has borrowed so much says, "The Master Abu Rihan al Biruni excelled all his contemporaries in the sciences of philosophy, mathematics, and geometry. He entered the service of Mahmud bin Subuktigin, and in the course of his service he spent a long time in Hindustan and learned the language of the country. Several of the provinces of India were visited by him. He was on friendly terms with many of the great and noble of that country, and so acquired an intimate knowledge of their books of philosophy, religion, and belief. The best and most excellent of all their books upon the arts and sciences is one resembling the work of Shaikh Rais Abu' Ali ibn Sina (Avicenna). It is called Batakal, or in Arabic Batajal; this book he translated into Arabic. From this work also he extracted a great deal which he made use of in his Kanun Mas'udi, a work upon mathematics and geometry, named after the Sultan Mas'ud. All that the sages of India have said about numbers, ages, and eras (*tawarikh*), has been exactly given by Abu Rihan in his translation of the Batakal."]

He was indebted to the Sultan of Khwarizm for the opportunity of visiting India, for he was appointed by him to accompany the embassies which he sent to Mahmud of Ghazni. Al Farabi and Abu-l Khair joined one of these embassies, but the famous Avicenna, who was invited to accompany them, refused to go, being, as it is hinted, averse to enter into controversy with Abu Rihan, with whom he differed on many points of science, and whose logical powers he feared to encounter. (On the invitation of Mahmud, Abu Rihan entered into his service, an invitation which Avicenna declined. It was in the suite of Mahmud and of his son Mas'ud that) Abu Rihan travelled into India, and he is reported to have stayed forty years there; but if we may judge from some errors that he has committed in his geographical description of the country, such as placing Thaneswar in the Doab, it would appear that he never travelled to the east of Lahore. Abu Rihan died in 430 A.H., A.D. 1038-39.

He wrote many works, and is said to have executed several translations from the Greek, and to have epitomised the *Almagest* of Ptolemy. His works are stated to have exceeded a camel-load, insomuch that it was supposed by devout Muhammadans that he received divine aid in his compositions. Those most spoken of are astronomical tables, a treatise on precious stones, one on *Materia Medica*, an introduction to astrology, a treatise on chronology, and the famous *Kanunu-l Mas'udi*, an astronomical and geographical work frequently cited by Abu-l Fida, especially in his tables of Lat. and Long. For this last work he received from the Emperor

Mas'ud an elephant-load of silver, which, however, he returned to the Royal Treasury, "a proceeding contrary to human nature," according to the testimony of Shahrazuri.

[An accomplished writer in a late number of the "Quarterly Review," observes: "Abu Rihan a native of the country (of Khwarizm) was the only early Arab writer who investigated the antiquities of the East in a true spirit of historical criticism," and he proceeds to give some examples of his knowledge of ancient technical chronology which are of the highest importance in establishing the early civilisation of the Aryan race. According to this reviewer, Abu Rihan says, "the solar calendar of Khwarizm was the most perfect scheme for measuring time with which he was acquainted, and it was maintained by the astronomers of that country, that both the solar and the lunar zodiacs had originated with them; the divisions of the signs in their systems being far more regular than those adopted by the Greeks or Arabs.

. . . Another statement of Abu Rihan's asserts that the Khwarizmians dated originally from an epoch anterior by 980 years to the era of the Seleucidæ (equal to B.C. 1304), a date which agrees pretty accurately with the period assigned by our best scholars to the invention of the Jyotisha or Indian calendar." This most curious and interesting information, for which we are indebted to the writer in the "Quarterly," raises higher than ever the reputation of Abu Rihan, and must intensify the desire so long felt for a complete translation of his extant works.]

The names of his writings are given in full by Reiske in the Supplement to the *Bibl. Or.* on the authority of Abu Ussaibiah. The work by which he is best known, and which to the cultivator of Indian history is the most important of all his works, is the Tarikhul Hind in Arabic. A manuscript of this work, or of a portion of it, is in the Imperial Library, Paris (*Fonds Ducaurroy*, No. 22), and from this MS. Reinaud extracted two chapters which he published in the *Journal Asiatique*, and separately in his "*Fragments Arabes et Persans inedits relatifs à l'Inde antérieurement au xi. siècle de l'ère Chrétienne.*" [The work, according to Reinaud, was written in India in A.D. 1031, and he observes upon it—"Cet écrit est un tableau de l'état littéraire et scientifique de la presqu'île, au moment où les armées musulmanes y penetrerent pour la première fois. On y voit successivement apparaître les principaux travaux littéraires, philosophiques et astronomiques des Indiens, le tableau de leurs ères, la manière dont ils comptaient les jours, les mois, les années et les cycles." Sir H. Rawlinson possesses a MS. of a part of Al Biruni's works]<sup>1</sup>, and there is a manuscript of some portions thereof mentioned by M. Haenel as existing in the Library of the Arsenal at Paris. This MS. appears

<sup>1</sup> "Quarterly Review," No. 240, p. 490.

<sup>2</sup> [*Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 30.]

<sup>3</sup> (This fact, and the general character of the article in the "Review," which probably no one else in Europe could have written, afford sufficient indication of the writer, Sir H. Rawlinson.)

to be the one noticed by D'Herbelot in the article *Athar* [and to be the same as that "which was formerly much referred to by M. Quartremere under the title 'Athar el Bakieh'"]]. The *Tarikhul Hind* is not known at all in India, and Reinaud states that it is not mentioned in any of the bibliographical works in Arabic which have come under his observation. It will be seen hereafter that Abu-l Fazl Baihaki attributes to him another work, "A History of Khwarizm," which is noticed by Fraehn in his catalogue.<sup>1</sup>

The *Tarikhul Hind* treats of the literature and science of the Indians at the commencement of the eleventh century. It does not bear the name of the author, but we learn from it, that he accompanied Mahmud of Ghazni; that he resided many years in India, chiefly, in all probability, in the Panjab, studied the Sanskrit language, translated into it some works from the Arabic, and translated from it two treatises into Arabic. This statement is confirmed by Abu-l Faraj, in his "Catalogue of Ancient and Modern Authors." Biruni says, towards the end of his preface, "I have translated into Arabic two Indian works, one discusses the origin and quality of things which exist, and is entitled *Sankhya*, the other is known under the title of *Patanjali*,<sup>2</sup> which treats of the deliverance of the soul from the trammels of the body. These two works contain the chief principles of the Indian creed."<sup>3</sup>

Neither the original nor the translation of this work [presumed to be that] of Patanjali has descended to us; but as M. Reinaud observes, the declaration quoted in the preceding paragraph serves to indicate the author of the *Tarikhul Hind*, which other circumstances would have rendered extremely probable. Rashidu-d din, in his history, quotes as one of the works to which he is indebted for his information, an Arabic version of "the Batakal," made by Al Biruni.<sup>4</sup> Binakiti also mentions this translation of the work, and

<sup>1</sup> ("Quarterly Review," No. 240, p. 490. note; *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 30.)

<sup>2</sup> *Indications Bibl.*, p. 28.

<sup>3</sup> [See Note No. 5 given below.]

<sup>4</sup> Reinaud's *Fragments*, p. xiii.

<sup>5</sup> [The Sanskrit work translated by Abu Rihan has, upon this identification made by Reinaud, been unhesitatingly believed to have been the production of the sage Patanjali, a well-known philosopher and Vedic commentator and grammarian (Müller's *Sanskrit Lit.*, p. 235). The description given of that work by Abu Rihan accords very well with the sage's writings; but the specimens which we have of the work in the published fragments of Al Biruni, and in their reproduction by Rashidu-d din are of a very different character. The latter writer says it was a book upon the arts and sciences, containing all that the sages of India have written about numbers, ages, and eras, and accordingly we find the book cited upon questions of chronology and geography. In the Extract printed by Reinaud, the word is given distinctly as "Batanjali," but I have not found it so written in any of the MSS. of the

says that Biruni included the translation in the *Kanunu-l Mas'udi*,<sup>1</sup> but a close examination of the *Kanun* does not confirm this, for there is nothing special about India in the work.

Jami'u-t Tawarikh or of Binakiti. The MS. of the E. I. Library says "the name of the book is *bāskal* which in Arabic they write *bāhal*. In the passage translated and printed in Vol. I, p. 44, it is written *bāskal* and in another *bāhal*. The Lucknow MS. has *bātakal* and *bāhal*. The Arabic MS. is equally explicit and says—

[*wa lafzahu batajal murrabatum wa asluha batakal*]

"The word Batajal is the Arabic form of what in the original is Batakal." (Judging from analogy there is but one letter between the *alif* and the *jim*, for the 't' is so found written in words about which there can be no doubt, as *taqrir*.) Here we have the remarkable fact that the Arabic form of the name (Batajal or Batanjal) is more like the presumed Sanskrit original (Patanjali) than the word Batakal or Batankal, which is given as the exact or nearest transcription of that original word. Mr. Morley found the word written Banatakal or Batanakal in two manuscripts of Binakiti (Jour. R. A. S., VI, 26). In the R. As. Soc.'s copy of Binakiti it is written *bātkal*. A Persian note prefixed to the MS. No. 16 of the R. As. Soc., and translated by Dr. Duncan Forbes, says, "After Abu Rihan had made thorough proficiency in the sciences of the Indian philosophers, he translated from the Indian language into the Arabic tongue, the book of Patankal, or Patanjali (*bātkal*) which is a collection of all the sciences, and one of the most valuable works of the sages of Hind. . . . To this work he gave the name of Patanjali (*bātjal*) a copy of which he carried away with him."—(Forbes, Jour. R. A. S., VI, p. 38.) This note would seem to have been drawn from Rashidu-d din's notice of Abu Rihan above quoted—and the spelling of the name of the book is identically the same as in the MS. of the E. I. Library. It thus appears very questionable whether the sage Patanjali is really the author referred to, but at any rate it is certain that no Sanskrit work bearing his name has yet been discovered which at all corresponds to the book used by Abu Rihan. If a guess may be ventured on, the final syllable *Kal* is possibly the Sanskrit *Kala*, "time."

<sup>1</sup> Reinaud (p. 97) says of this work that "unfortunately it has not come down to us." It appears to have escaped him that nearly the entire first volume exists in the Bodleian Library, collated with the autograph of the author, and dated as far back as A.D. 1083. The contents of that volume are given in Drs. Nicoll's and Pusey's Catalogue. In the notes to that article the learned Doctors have surely taken very unnecessary trouble to write elaborate remarks upon Arin which can be no other place than Ujain, in Malwa, which by Biladuri (Vol. I, p. 126), and the early Arabic authors was written *Uzin* as being more in conformity with Ptolemy, who calls it by the name of *ozene*.

[There is a copy of the *Kanunu-l Mas'udi* among Sir H. Elliot's MSS.]

The two chapters of his work, edited by Reinaud, relate to the eras and geography of India. Like the Chinese travels of Fa-hian and Hwen Tsang, they establish another fixed epoch to which we can refer for the determination of several points relating to the chronology of this country. We learn from them that the Harivansa Purana, which the most accomplished orientalists have hitherto ascribed to a period not anterior to the eleventh century, was already quoted in Biruni's time as a standard authority, and that the epoch of the composition of the five Siddhantas no longer admits of question, and thus the theories of Anquetil du Perron and Bentley are demolished for ever.<sup>1</sup>

The extract from the *Tarikh-i Hind* given below is of great historical interest. The succession of the last princes of Kabul given there, though not in accordance with the statements of Mirkhond and other Persian historians, yet, being dependent on the contemporary testimony of Biruni, is of course more trustworthy than that of subsequent compilers, and is moreover confirmed by the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh*. With respect to this table of succession, the ingenuity of the French editor induced him to surmise that it probably represented a series of Brahman princes who succeeded in subverting a Buddhist dynasty of Turks, and to whom should be attributed certain coins of a peculiar type which numismatists had previously some difficulty in assigning to their true masters. M. A. Longperier has confirmed this opinion by certain arguments, which have been printed as an Appendix to Reinaud's work, and he has been ably followed by E. Thomas, who has published a paper in the "Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society,"<sup>2</sup> respecting the proper attribution of this series. The result is that we are able to trace Brahman kings of Kabul to the beginning of the tenth century, about A.D. 920, and thus clear up the mist which enveloped a whole century of the Indian annals previous to Mahmud's invasion.<sup>3</sup>

In the same paper Thomas observes that the word Hamira, so long supposed to be a proper name, and so eagerly sought for among the Hindu kings of India, proves to be an abbreviation of

<sup>1</sup> Compare Reinaud's *Fragments, Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 29-239, and *Abou-l Feda*, I, xcv; Sprenger's *Mas'udi*, p. 154; Casiri, *Biblioth. Arabico-Hispana*, Tom. i, p. 322; D'Herbelot, *Bibl. Or.*, Tom. i, pp. 45, 407, 496 and Tom. iv, pp. 697, 722. Greg. Abulfaragii *Hist. Dynast.*, p. 229; Wüstenfeld, *Abulfedæ Tab. Geogr.*, p. 77; *Biographie Univ.*, s.v. De Rossi, *Dizionario Storico degli Autori Arabi*, s.v. Nicoll and Pusey, *Bodl. Cod. MSS. Or. Cat. Arab.*, pp. 263, 360-363, 552; Flügel, *De Interpretibus*, No. 76; Wüstenfeld, *Arabische Aerzte*, No. 129; As. Res., vi, 537, ix, 195; Rampoldi, v, 510, vi, 535; *Gemälde-saal*, iv, 160; *Mod. Univ. Hist.*, II, 457.

<sup>2</sup> Vol. ix, p. 194; (see also his *Prinsep*, I, 331).

<sup>3</sup> See note in Appendix on "The Hindu Kings of Kabul."

the full title of the Khalif of Baghdad—*Amiru-l Muminiin*,—continued by the Muhammadans in this curtailed form from the Arabic reverses of their own Ghazni money, when they adopted the style of coin found current in the countries they had subdued. “The abbreviation of the full titles of the Khalif into Sri Hamira will be seen,” says Thomas, “to be necessary, as the space occupied by the device did not admit of the introduction of many more Hindi letters of the size it was the custom to employ.” But this supposed abbreviation is disproved by examining the gold coins of Muhammad Ghori, on one of which, in the possession of General Cunningham, Sri Hamir is ascribed as the title of the king, not of the Khalif. The legend on one side only (not on two sides) is *Sri Hamir Muhammad Sami*. On the copper coins Sri Hamir is on the reverse, but the purport of the expression is fully shown by the position it occupies on the gold coins. Amir is used by Baihaki as equivalent to Sultan, and that is no doubt the use of it in all these places. The legend of Sri Samant Deo on many of the series of coins, upon which so much stress is laid, as indicative of Samant’s power as one of the chief founders of the dynasty, does not seem to have reference to that prince, but to be an honorary title assumed by the reigning prince, meaning the “fortunate warrior”; otherwise it certainly would not have been stamped on the coins of Prithi Raj, who lived 250 years later, and was not, like Samant, a Brahman, but a Chauhan Rajput, and proud of his lineage.<sup>1</sup>

### EXTRACT<sup>2</sup>

Kabul was formerly governed by princes of the Turkish race. It is said that they were originally from Tibet. The first of them, who was named Barhtigin, dwelt, when he arrived at Kabul, in a cave, in which no one could enter except by crawling on all fours. The cave contained a spring, and he provided himself therein with food for some days. This cave is now well known by the name of Bakar, and is entered by those persons who wish to obtain the blessing which a visit to it is supposed to confer, and bring out some of the water, not without much difficulty.

<sup>1</sup> (See Thomas’ reply to this *Prinsep*, I, 331, and “Jour. R. A. S.,” xvii, 170; extracts from which will be found in the Appendix.)

<sup>2</sup> [Sir H. Elliot himself prepared this Extract for the press from M. Reinaud’s French version, comparing that as he went on with the Arabic text. The Editor has made no alteration in the translation, except the substitution of “Barhtigin” for “Barkatzur,” as the name appeared in the first edition. In Sir H. Elliot’s draft translation the word is written “Barhatgin,” but the copyist or printer read “Barkatzur,” as an ignorant person might well do.]

Groups of peasants used to labour near the entrance of the cave. Such a thing (as remaining in the cave without food) could not be practised without the connivance of some one. The people who were in league with Barhtigin engaged the peasants to labour without ceasing, relieving each other night and day, by which it happened that the place was constantly surrounded. After some days, Barhtigin came all of a sudden out of the cave,<sup>1</sup> and the men who were near the entrance saw him appear as one just born, clothed as a Turk, with a tunic, cap, boots, and armed from head to foot. He was looked upon as a wondrous person, and destined for empire. So he rendered himself master of the kingdom of Kabul, which continued in his family for sixty generations.

The Indians attach little importance to the sequence of events, and neglect to record the dates of the reigns of their kings. When they are embarrassed, they are silent. I will here mention what I have heard some people of the country say. It is true, according to what I have heard, that the succession of these reigns was written on a piece of silk, which was found in the fortress of Nagarkot. I vehemently desired to read this writing, but different circumstances prevented me.

Among the number of these kings was Kanak,<sup>2</sup> who founded the Vihar at Peshawar, which bears his name. It is said that the Rai of Kanauj offered to this prince, among other presents, a piece of cloth of excellent texture, and of a new kind, of which Kanak wished to make a

<sup>1</sup> He seems to have imposed upon the credulous people by the same means which are even now practised in the west of India. Boileau in his "Personal Narrative of a Tour in Rajwarra," and Osborne in his "Court and Camp of Runjeet Sing," gives an account of a man who allowed himself to be interred for a month. The former is circumstantial in his account, and seems to yield faith to the statement of his narrators. It is not improbable that the ancients alluded to this practice when they spoke of Indians who lived without food, and in caves. Aulus Gellius speaks of them as "gentem. apud extrema Indiæ nullo cibatu vescentem." *Noct. Att.*, ix, 4. See also Philostratus, *Vit. Apoll.*, iii, 45; Ctesiæ, *Indic. Excerpt.*, xxiii; Grote's *Greece*, III, 113.

<sup>2</sup> [See Reinaud, *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 73; Thomas' *Prinsep, Index*, Kanishka; see Cunningham, "Jour. Ben. As. Soc.", Vol. xxiii.]

dress. But the tailor refused to make up the garment, saying, "I see the figure of a human foot, and notwithstanding all my endeavours, still the foot will come between the shoulders." This bears a relation to the story which I have elsewhere narrated in the legend of Bal.

Kanak understood that the Rai of Kanauj intended to insult him, and to evince the small estimation in which he held him, so Kanak departed quickly with his army towards Kanauj. At this news the Rai of Kanauj was greatly embarrassed, not finding himself in a position to contend with the king of Kabul. He consulted with his minister, who said, "You have roused a man who was peaceably disposed, and an untoward act has been committed. Now cut off my nose and lips, and mutilate me, that I may search out a way of practising some artifice, since there are no means of open resistance."

The Rai did as his minister advised, and allowed him to depart to the frontier. When the army of Kabul met the minister, he made himself known, and was conducted to the presence of Kanak, who demanded of him how he was reduced to that (pitiable) condition. He replied, "I endeavoured to dissuade the Rai from contending with you, and recommended him to make his submission, but, charging me with collusion, he mutilated me. If you march by the road which lies before you, you will find it long. You will more easily arrive at your destination by encountering the difficulties of the desert between him and us, provided you can carry with you a supply of water for a few days." Kanak said, "This is easy." So he took with him water, as recommended, and was guided on his way by the minister, who preceded him when he entered the boundless desert. When some days had elapsed, and the king knew not his way, he enquired of the minister, who replied, "No rebuke can attach to me for seeking to secure the safety of my master, and the destruction of his enemy. The nearest way to escape from the desert is that by which you entered it. Do to me as you wish, but none of you can escape alive from this desert." At these words Kanak mounted his horse, and urged it towards some low ground, in the midst of which he dug his spear, and water gushed out from it, which

sufficed for the present and future wants of the whole army. Then the minister said to the king, "I did not intend to practise deceit upon powerful angels, but only upon weak men; and since things have so turned out, accept my intercession, and pardon my gracious master." Kanak replied, "I now retrace my way, and grant your solicitation. Your master has already received the punishment due to him." Upon this the king returned to his country, and the minister to his master the Rai. But on his arrival he found that the Rai had been deprived of the use of his feet and hands on the selfsame day that Kanak had planted his spear in the ground.<sup>1</sup>

The last of these kings was Laktuzaman, and his minister was Kalar, a Brahman. . . . Laktuzaman's thoughts and actions were evil, so that many complaints reached the minister, who loaded him with chains and imprisoned him for his correction. . . . So the minister established himself on the throne, and was succeeded by the Brahman Samand, whose successor was Kamalava, whose successor was Bhim, whose successor was Jaipal, whose successor was Anand Pal, whose successor was Nardajanpal,<sup>2</sup> who ascended the throne A.H. 412. His son, Bhim Pal, succeeded him after the lapse of five years, and under him the sovereignty of India became extinct, and no descendant remained to light a fire on the hearth. These princes, notwithstanding the extent of their dominions, were endowed with excellent qualities, were faithful to their engagements, and gracious towards their inferiors. The letter which Anand Pal wrote to Amir Mahmud, at the time enmity existed between them, is much to be admired. "I have heard that the Turks have invaded your dominions, and spread over Khurasan: if you desire it, I will join you with 5,000 Cavalry, 10,000 Infantry, and 100 Elephants; but if you prefer it, I will send my son with twice the number. In making this proposal, I do not wish to ingratiate

<sup>1</sup> The story is told in the *Jami'u-l Hikayat*, I, xii, 15, with some variations. Kanak's name is not mentioned, but the hero is Shah-i-Zabulistan, i.e. King of Zabul, Sistan, Ghazni, etc.

<sup>2</sup> [Reinaud says the MS. will admit of this name being read Tardajanpal, Tarvajanpal, or Narvajanpal.]

myself with you. Though I have vanquished you, I do not desire that any one else but myself should obtain the ascendancy."<sup>1</sup> This prince was a determined enemy of the Musulmans from the time that his son Nardajanpal was taken prisoner, but his son was, on the contrary, well disposed towards them.<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> This is translated somewhat differently by Reinaud, but the version here given seems more in conformity with the original Arabic.

<sup>2</sup> [Thomas has brought forward strong evidence against the accuracy of this passage. He quotes the counterpart passage in the Persian and Arabic versions of the *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* which says "And Kank returned to his country and was the last of the Katurman kings." So that the name of Laktuzaman would appear to be nothing more than an incorrect rendering of the designation of the tribe of Katur.—"Jour. R. A. S." ix, 177; *Prinsep*, Vol. I, p. 315. It may be added that Reinaud's text gives the name as "Laktuzaman" in the first, but "Lakturzaman" in the second instance.]

## TARIKH YAMINI OR KITABU-L YAMINI OF AL 'UTBI

<sup>1</sup> [The author of this celebrated work was named Abu Nasr Muhammad ibn Muhammad al Jabbaru-l 'Utbi. He was a member of the family of 'Utba, which held important offices under the Samanis, and he himself was Secretary to Sultan Mahmud, so that he enjoyed excellent opportunities of becoming fully acquainted with the operations of that conqueror. His work comprises the whole of the reign of Nasiru-d din Subuktigin, and part of that of Mahmud, down to the year 410 Hijra (A.D. 1020). The author would appear to have lived a few years later than this, as he records an event as happening in 420 Hijra,<sup>2</sup> but the interest of his work ceases with the year 410.]

[Though holding an appointment near the person of Mahmud, he does not seem to have accompanied him in his expeditions, for he evidently had no knowledge of the topography of India and his statements in respect of localities are of little authority. He never mentions Lahore or Dehli, and with the exception of the title *Rai*, no Hindi word is found in his pages. In dates he is deficient, and far from precise.]

[There are several Persian translations of this work, which bear the title of Tarjuma-i Yamini. The most ancient of these is that of Abu-l Sharaf Jarbadkani, or Jarbazkani, which was made in 582 Hijri, or A.D. 1186. This version is very rarely met with in India, but it has been rendered into English by J. Reynolds, and published under the auspices of the Oriental Translation Fund (London, 1858). Another version is the modern one made by Muhammad Karamat 'Ali of Dehli. This is known as the *Tarikh-i Amini* or *Tarjuma-i Yamini*, and although it is not common, it can easily be procured. Karamat 'Ali's translation is very literal, the order of the words even following that of the original Arabic, and it is in general very correct and free from errors. He interposes *fajdas* or notes containing explanations of meaning and surmises about identifications of places, but these are commonplace, and of little value.]

[A knowledge of the work of 'Utbi was at one time considered a great desideratum in Europe, but it is now found to contain but little which is not accessible through other channels. Firishta and other historians have, by means of the Persian versions, extracted from it all that is of value and interest. But for all this it must continue a work of authority and an object of curiosity, as the original source from which later writers have drawn much of their information respecting Mahmud's campaigns.]

<sup>1</sup> [This article has been compiled, for the most part, from Sir H. Elliot's rough notes and memoranda.]

<sup>2</sup> [Reynold's Translation, 474.]

[The style of the original has generally been considered difficult and inflated, and Karamat 'Ali describes it as "very difficult, but at the same time good and elegant." Sir H. Elliot, who himself translated the extracts which follow from the original Arabic, observes that he "was alarmed at first at the declared difficulty of the text, but found it to vanish after a little examination." "All passages relating to India have been extracted, and the translations are literal, except that some of the useless illustrations have been omitted."]

[The Bibliotheque Imperiale possesses three copies of the Arabic and one of the Persian version. From the latter, Silvestre de Sacy published in "Notices et Extraits," Tom. iv, 1799, an almost complete translation into French.<sup>1</sup> Copies of the *Tarikh Yamini* are not uncommon in India. One of the best is in the Library of Nawwab Siraju-l Mulk, of Haidarabad; and Sir H. Rawlinson has a very good copy. The edition lithographed at Dehli in the year 1847, is a very clear one, and contains some useful marginal notes, explanatory of the difficulties of the text. It was edited by Maulavi Ashraf 'Ali and Dr. Sprenger: size, large 8vo., 423 (497) pages each containing 16 lines. Professor Fleischer has remarked on the errors of its pagination.<sup>2</sup> Silvestre de Sacy notices a copy of one of the commentaries in a Library at Constantinople.<sup>3</sup> I only know one copy from which I have made the Extracts given hereafter. This belongs to a pertinacious old lady at Belgram, who, without knowing what it is, scrupulously guards it from leaving her house, ever since my enquiries respecting the work have led her to look upon it as of exceeding value.

### SHARH-I TARIKHI YAMINI

There are several commentaries upon 'Utbi's history bearing this title. Their object is the explanation of the difficult passages, and the settling the right orthography of names. They are thus enumerated by Haji Khalfa<sup>4</sup>:

"The commentators are Majda-d din Kirmani; Kassam bin Husain Khwarizmi, who died 555 A.H.; Taju-d din 'Isa bin Mahmud; Haibatu-d din Abu 'Abdullah; Mahmud bin 'Umar Manjani Naishapuri, who has entitled his work "Gardens of the excellent and odoriferous herbs of the learned." Another is Abu-l Marin Aitania, who tells us that having consulted five other commentaries, he extracted from them all that was useful, and made to them many important additions of his own. When it was complete, he presented his work to his master, the celebrated Kutbu-d din Shirazi, who honoured it with his approval. In the end, Kutbu-d

<sup>1</sup> *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 25.

<sup>2</sup> *Zeitschrift, D. M. Gesellschaft*, Vol. III, p. 359.

<sup>3</sup> *Hist. priorum regum Pers. ex Mirkhond, Pers. et Lat.*, Vienna 1784, p. 168; *Litteratura Turchesca dell' Abbate Toderini*, Tom. II.

<sup>4</sup> *Lexicon Bibliographicum*, v. "Yemini"; and Vol. II, p. 50; *Notices des Manuscripts*, Tom. iv, p. 326.

din desired him to join the text to the commentary, an arrangement of which the author did not approve; but having extracted from the text the most important words in it, he joined to them the necessary explanation in such a manner that one could not distinguish the text from the commentary, which together form one well-combined whole. He completed his labours on the entire work of 'Utbi at Tabriz, in the year 721 H. (A.D. 1321).

It is difficult to conceive the nature of the work thus spoken of. A combination of text and commentary, so as to represent an harmonious unity, seems an impossibility.

The only commentary I know in India is by 'Ali bin Musiliu-s Sama'ani-al Kirmani. The year of composition does not appear, but the copy which I have seen cannot be less than three hundred years old. It is not a commentary upon the complete text, but only the most difficult words are selected for explanation. The portion thus selected for exegetical notes amounts to about one-tenth of the text. The extravagances of which the author is guilty, in the following short extract, where he endeavours to show the correct way of writing Indian names, proves that the work can be of no real value, and that it is an impudent attempt of ignorance to appear learned. Yet his notions of the value of what he was engaged upon are correct enough, though it must be confessed they are very original. He says : "Books of history operate as a warning to the wise, and their perusal inspires even the negligent with subjects of reflection, and especially those who have occasion to travel. Moderns derive benefit from the instructions of the ancients, those who are present learn from those that are absent, and posterity becomes acquainted with the occupations of its ancestors." It is for these solemn truisms that the author considered a commentary upon a work which treats of such exalted subjects as history treats of, a most useful labour to undertake.

### *The Conquest of Kusdar*

The ruler of Kusdar, which was near the territory of Ghazna, rebelled against Amir Subuktigin.<sup>1</sup> His fort was itself strong, naturally as well as in its approaches, and he thought that the difficulties of the road, as well as the distance, would prevent the Amir from attacking him; but he was afraid lest his territory might be plundered, while his city was invested by the Amir's cavalry. Amir Subuktigin marched that long distance over lofty and difficult hills, with his troops in close columns, one after the other, and with

<sup>1</sup> This name was not uncommon about this period. The famous Amiru-l Umara, of Baghdad, the Turk Subuktigin died in A.H. 364. Hammer-Purgstall, on the authority of Sha'uri, says the name is Sebuktigin; but Ibn Khallikan says it should be Subuktigin.

such expedition, that his body knew no rest, nor his eyes sleep, and his army had but little repose.

So Subuktigin and his followers attacked the city of the ruler of Kusdar, and seized him suddenly, like as a sheep is seized, when its limbs are torn to be roasted and placed before a guest; and the faces of the inhabitants were so changed through alarm, that the very dogs barked at them, and mothers in their fright deserted their children. The Amir thought it expedient to show kindness to the ruler of Kusdar, and to restore to his possession all he had taken from him. He made peace with him on condition that he should immediately pay a contribution in money and hereafter promise to send an annual tribute. The Khutba also was read in that territory in the name of Amir Subuktigin, and comers and goers, and the far and near became acquainted with these circumstances.<sup>1</sup>

### *Amir Subuktigin's First Invasion of Hind*

\* \* \* \* \*

After this victory he made frequent expeditions into Hind, in the prosecution of holy wars, and there he conquered forts upon lofty hills, in order to seize the treasures they contained, and expel their garrisons. He took all the property they contained into his own possession, and captured cities in Hind, which had up to that time been tenanted only by infidels and not trodden by the camels and horses of Musulmans.

When Jaipal<sup>2</sup> had ascertained the calamity which had befallen him from the reports of the people who travelled in his country, and how Subuktigin was taking different parts of the territory into his own possession, and injuring everybody who opposed him in his projects of ambition, the deepest grief seized him and made him restless, and his lands

<sup>1</sup> We find the ruler of Kusdar subsequently refusing to pay his tribute, in consequence of which the Sultan was again compelled to attack him.—*Dehli Edition*, p. 316.

<sup>2</sup> S. de Sacy reads "Haibal," and says some manuscripts have it "Hainal," and "Djibal." He observes also that Dow has "Jerpal" and "Abistagi" for "Alpteghin," "Subuktagi" for "Sebekteghin," "Tigha" for "Togan," and "Bab Toor" for "Baitour." Firishta has "Jaipal, the son of Ishtpal," in Briggs, "Hutpal."—See *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 252.

became narrow under his feet, though their expanse was broad. Then he arose with his relations and the generals of his army, and his vassals, and hastened with his huge elephants to wreak his revenge upon Subuktigin, by treading the field of Islam under his feet, and doing dishonour to that which should be treated with respect. In this disposition he marched on until he passed Lamghan, and approached the territory of Subuktigin, trusting to his own resources and power, for Satan had laid an egg in Jaipal's brain and hatched it; so that he waxed proud, entertaining absurd thoughts, and anticipating an immediate accomplishment of his wishes, impracticable as they were.

When the Amir heard of Jaipal's approach towards his territory and of his great power, he girt up his loins to fight, and collecting his vassals and the Muhammadan forces whose duty it was to oppose infidels, he advanced from Ghazna against Jaipal, who was encamped between that place and Lamghan, with soldiers as black as night, and as impetuous as a torrent. Yaminu-d daula Mahmud accompanied Amir Subuktigin, like a lion of the forest or a destructive eagle, and they attempted no difficult undertaking which they did not easily accomplish.

The armies fought several days successively against each other, and cups filled to the brim with blood, drawn from wounds inflicted by sword and spear, circulated amongst them till they were drunken. In the field of this battle there was a very lofty mountain near the infidels, which was very difficult to ascend, called the 'Ukba Ghuzak.<sup>1</sup> In one of its ravines there was a clear fountain of water of the dimensions required by the Hanafi law for purification,<sup>2</sup> in which there were no impurities, or even watermoss. If any filth were thrown into it, black clouds collected, whirlwinds arose, the summits of the mountains became black, rain fell, and the neighbourhood was filled with cold blasts, until red death supervened. The Amir ordered that some dirty substance should be thrown into it, and immediately upon doing so the horrors of the day of resurrection rose up

<sup>1</sup> Ghuzak or Ghurak is mentioned by Al Biruni as one of the mountains under which the Kabul river flows.—Vol. I, p. 47.

<sup>2</sup> That is, a cube of ten spans.

before the wicked infidels, and fire fell from heaven on them, and hailstones accompanied by loud claps of thunder; and a blast, calculated to shake trees from their roots, blew upon them, and thick black vapours formed around them, as that they could not see the road by which they could fly, and their food and water were filled with dust.<sup>1</sup>

In consequence of the great fear which fell upon Jaipal, who confessed he had seen death before the appointed time, he sent a deputation to the Amir soliciting peace, on the promise of his paying down a sum of money, and offering to obey any order he might receive respecting his elephants and his country. The Amir Subuktigin consented on account of the mercy he felt towards those who were his vassals, or for some other reason which seemed expedient to him. But the Sultan Yaminu-d daula Mahmud addressed the messengers in a harsh voice, and refused to abstain from battle, until he should obtain a complete victory suited to his zeal for the honour of Islam and of Musulmans, and one which he was confident God would grant to his arms. So they returned, and Jaipal being in great alarm, again sent most humble supplications that the battle might cease, observing, "You have seen the impetuosity of the Hindus and their indifference to death, whenever any calamity befalls them, as at this moment. If, therefore, you refuse to grant peace in the hope of obtaining plunder, tribute, elephants and prisoners, then there is no alternative for us but to mount the horse of stern determination, destroy our property, take out the eyes of our elephants, cast our children into the fire, and rush on each other with sword and spear, so that all that will be left to you, is stones and dirt, dead bodies, and scattered bones."

When the Amir heard these words and knew what Jaipal would do in his despair, he thought that religion and the views of the faithful would best be consulted by peace, and the acquisition of tribute. So the Amir Mahmud agreed with Subuktigin as to the propriety of withdrawing

<sup>1</sup> This passage is omitted from S. de Sacy's translation. [Muhammad 'Ufi gives this story in his *Jami'u-l Hikayat* at greater length and with some variations, though he professes to have taken it from this work, see *post.*]

the hand of vengeance, on the condition of receiving at that time 1,000,000 dirhams of royal stamp, and fifty elephants, and some cities and forts in the middle of his country. Jaipal was to deliver these forts to the officers nominated by the Amir, and was to send hostages from among his relatives and friends to remain with the Amir until these conditions of cession were fulfilled. The Amir sent two deputies with Jaipal to see that he did not swerve from his engagements, and they were accompanied by confidential officers who were to receive charge of the ceded places.

When Jaipal had marched to a great distance, and thought that the demand upon him had relaxed, and that the rope round his throat was loosened, his bad disposition suggested to him to break his engagements, and his folly made him beget enmity, insomuch that he imprisoned those who accompanied him on the part of the Amir, in reprisal for those of his relations whom the Amir had taken as hostages.

### *Amir Subuktigin's Second Invasion of Hind*

When this intelligence reached the Amir, he considered it false, as being opposed to the usual habits of Jaipal; until repeated accounts to the same effect were brought, when the curtain which obscured the truth was withdrawn, and he knew that God had set his seal upon Jaipal's heart, so that he might obtain the reward of his evil deeds, and had placed a veil between it and rectitude, so that he might obtain punishment for his wickedness and infidelity. The Sultan therefore sharpened the sword of intention in order to make an incursion upon his kingdom, and cleanse it from impurity and from his rejection of Islam. So he departed with his valiant servants and allies, relying upon the one God, and trusting in the fulfilment of the promise of victory; and he went on till he arrived with his troops in the country of Hind, and he killed every one who, on the part of Jaipal, came out to oppose him.

The Amir marched out towards Lamghan, which is a city celebrated for its great strength and abounding in wealth. He conquered it and set fire to the places in its vicinity which were inhabited by infidels, and demolishing

the idol-temples, he established Islam in them. He marched and captured other cities and killed the polluted wretches, destroying the idolatrous and gratifying the Musulmans. After wounding and killing beyond all measure, his hands and those of his friends became cold in counting the value of the plundered property. On the completion of his conquest he returned and promulgated accounts of the victories obtained for Islam, and every one, great and small, concurred in rejoicing over this result and thanking God.

When Jaipal saw what had occurred to him on account of the infraction of his engagements, that his chiefs had become the food of vultures and hyenas, and that weakness had fallen on his arm, he became greatly agitated, and knew not whether to retire or advance. He at last determined to fight once more, and satisfy his revenge. He thought, resolved, gave orders, and collected troops to the number of more than one hundred thousand. When Amir Subuktigin heard this intelligence, he again advanced to fight him, and ascended a lofty hill from which he could see the whole army of the infidels, which resembled scattered ants and locusts, and he felt like a wolf about to attack a flock of sheep. He urged the Musulmans upon the uncircumcised infidels, and they willingly obeyed his orders. He made bodies of five hundred attack the enemy with their maces in hand, and relieve each other when one party became tired, so that fresh men and horses were constantly engaged, till the accursed enemy complained of the heat which arose from that iron oven. These detached parties then made one united charge, in order to exterminate their numerous opponents. Men and officers mingled in close conflict, and all other arms were useless except the sword. The dust which arose prevented the eyes from seeing; swords could not be distinguished from spears, men from elephants, the valiants from cowards. It was only when the dust was allayed that it was found that the impure infidels were defeated, and had fled, leaving behind them their property, utensils, arms, provisions, elephants, and horses. The jungles were filled with the carcasses of the infidels, some wounded by the sword, and others fallen dead through fright. "It is the order of God respecting those who have

*see my 671*

passed away, that infidels should be put to death; and the order of God is not changed respecting your execution of the same precept."

The Hindus turned their tails towards their heads like frightened dogs, and the Raja was contented to offer the best things in his most distant provinces to the conqueror, on condition that the hair on the crowns of their heads should not be shaven off. So the country in that neighbourhood was clear and open before Amir Subuktigin, and he seized all the wealth which was found in it. He levied tribute and obtained immense booty, besides two hundred elephants of war. He increased his army, and the Afghans and Khiljis having submitted to him, he admitted thousands of them<sup>1</sup> whenever he wished into the ranks of his army, and thereafter expended their lives in his service.

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#### *Receipt by Mahmud of a Khila't from the Khalifa*

Kadir bi-llah Amiru-l muminin, the Khalifa of Baghdad, sent a Khila't such as had never before been heard of, for the use of Sultan Saifu-d daula, and he entitled Mahmud in his imperial rescript, "Yaminu-d daula Aminu-l milat, the friend of the Amiru-l muminin," which had not yet been bestowed upon any prince, either far or near, notwithstanding their intense desire to receive such an honour. The Sultan sat on his throne and robed himself in his new Khila't, professing his allegiance to the successor of the prophet of God. The Amirs of Khurasan stood before him in order, with respectful demeanour, and did not take their seats till they were directed. He then bestowed upon the nobles, his slaves, his confidential servants, and his chief friends, valuable robes and choice presents, beyond all calculation, . . . and vowed that every year he would undertake a holy war against Hind.

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#### *Defeat of Jaipal by Mahmud*

Sultan Mahmud at first designed in his heart to go to Sijistan, but subsequently preferred engaging previously in

<sup>1</sup> M. de Sacy says "they agreed to furnish 100,000 men whenever he wished."

a holy war against Hind, and he distributed arms prior to convening a council on the subject,<sup>1</sup> in order to secure a blessing on his designs, of exalting the standard of religion, of widening the plain of right, of illuminating the words of truth, and of strengthening the power of justice. He departed towards the country of Hind, in full reliance on the aid of God, who guiding by his light and by his power, bestowed dignity upon him, and gave him victory in all his expeditions. On his reaching Purshaur (Peshwar), he pitched his tent outside the city. There he received intelligence of the bold resolve of Jaipal, the enemy of God and the King (*malik*) of Hind, to offer opposition, and of his rapid advance towards meeting his fate in the field of battle. He then took a muster of his horses, and of all his warriors and their vassals from those in whose records it was entered, and then selected from among his troops 15,000 cavalry, men and officers, all bold, and strictly prohibited those who were rejected and not fit or disposed for war, from joining those who had been chosen, and who were like dragons of the desert and lions of the forest. With them he advanced against the wicked and accursed enemy, whose hearts were firm as hills, and were as twigs of patience on the boughs of affection. The villainous infidel came forward, proud in his numbers and strength of head and arm, with 12,000 horsemen, 30,000 foot soldiers, and 300 elephants, at the ponderous weight of which the lighter earth groaned, little reflecting that, under God's dispensation, a small army can overturn a host, as the ignorant man would have learnt, could he have read the word of God,—“Oftentimes a small army overcomes a large one by the order of God.”

That infidel remained where he was, avoiding the action for a long time, and awaiting craftily the arrival of reinforcements and other vagabond families and tribes which were on their way; but the Sultan would not allow him to postpone the conflict, and the friends of God commenced the action, setting upon the enemy with sword, arrow, and spear,—plundering, seizing, and destroying; at all which the Hindus, being greatly alarmed, began to kindle the flame of fight.

<sup>1</sup> Alluding to a passage in the Kurān, which it is unnecessary to explain here more particularly.

The Hindu set his cavalry in and beat his drums. The elephants moved on from their posts, and line advanced against line, shooting their arrows at one another like boys escaped from school, who, at eventime, shoot at a target for a wager. Swords flashed like lightning amid the blackness of clouds, and fountains of blood flowed like the fall of setting stars. The friends of God defeated their obstinate opponents, and quickly put them to a complete rout. Noon had not arrived when the Musulmans had wreaked their vengeance on the infidel enemies of God, killing 15,000 of them, spreading them like a carpet over the ground, and making them food for beasts and birds of prey. Fifteen elephants fell on the field of battle, as their legs, being pierced with arrows, became as motionless as if they had been in a quagmire, and their trunks were cut with the swords of the valiant heroes.

The enemy of God, Jaipal, and his children and grandchildren, and nephews, and the chief men of his tribe, and his relatives, were taken prisoners, and being strongly bound with ropes, were carried before the Sultan, like as evildoers, on whose faces the fumes of infidelity are evident, who are covered with the vapours of misfortune, will be bound and carried to Hell. Some had their arms forcibly tied behind their backs, some were seized by the cheek, some were driven by blows on the neck. The necklace was taken off the neck of Jaipal,—composed of large pearls and shining gems and rubies set in gold, of which the value was two hundred thousand dinars; and twice that value was obtained from the necks of those of his relatives who were taken prisoners, or slain, and had become the food of the mouths of hyenas and vultures. God also bestowed upon his friends such an amount of booty as was beyond all bounds and all calculation, including five hundred thousand slaves, beautiful men and women. The Sultan returned with his followers to his camp, having plundered immensely, by God's aid, having obtained the victory, and thankful to God, the lord of the universe. For the Almighty had given them victory over a province of the country of Hind, broader and longer and more fertile than Khurasan. This splendid

and celebrated action took place on Thursday, the 8th of Muharram, 392 H. (27th November, A.D. 1001).

After the victory, the Sultan directed that the polluted infidel, Jaipal, should be paraded about, so that his sons and chieftains might see him in that condition of shame, bonds, and disgrace; and that the fear of Islam might fly abroad through the country of the infidels. He then entered into conditions of peace with him, after demanding fifty elephants, and took from him as hostages his son and grandson, till he should fulfil the conditions imposed upon him.

The infidel returned to his own country and remained there, and wrote to his son, Andpal, whose territory, on which he prided himself, was on the other side of the Sihun (Indus), explaining the dreadful calamity which had befallen him, and beseeching him with many entreaties to send the elephants which were according to agreement to be given to the Sultan. Upon this Andpal sent the elephants to Jaipal, after dismissing the courier who had brought the letter, and the elephants were sent on to the Sultan. The Sultan, therefore, ordered the release of the hostages, and his myrmidons gave them a smack on the buttocks, telling them to return to their country.

Andpal reflected that his father, Jaipal, had put on the sheaf of old age, and had fallen under the influence of Lyra and other unlucky constellations, and it was time he should contemplate his death and devote himself to religious exercises. There is a custom among these men that if any one is taken prisoner by an enemy, as in this case Jaipal was by the Musulmans, it is not lawful for him to continue to reign. When Jaipal, therefore, saw that he was captive in the prison of old age and degradation, he thought death by cremation preferable to shame and dishonour. So he commenced with shaving his hair off, and then threw himself upon the fire till he was burnt.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the version of *Jarbazkani* it is said that, after the self-sacrifice of Jaipal, the Sultan again sent forth his army into Hindusthan, and that after having exterminated all those who had taken part in this rebellion, he returned in triumph to Ghazni. There is no authority for this in the original. The transactions at Waihind are not noticed in *Jarbazkani*.—Reynolds, 282—Notices et Extraits, iv, 380.

*Battle of Waihind*

When the Sultan had accomplished all his wishes and reduced all his enemies, in his happiness, he resolved on another holy expedition. He ornamented the entrance to his tent as well as his standards, and marching towards Waihind, he encamped there in state, until he had established himself in that country, and had relieved himself from the toils of the campaign. News reached him of the Hindus taking refuge in the passes of the neighbouring hills, and concealing themselves in the forests and jungles, consulting amongst themselves about the means of attacking the Musulmans. He therefore despatched an army against them, to conquer their country, and disperse them. The army fell upon them, and committed such slaughter that their swords were covered with blood. Those who escaped death fled away like mountain goats, having seen the swords flashing as bright as stars at noonday, and dealing black and red death around them. Thus did the infidels meet with the punishment and loss due to their deserts. The standards of the Sultan then returned happy and victorious to Ghazni, the face of Islam was made resplendent by his exertions, the teeth of the true faith displayed themselves in their laughter, the breasts of religion expanded, and the back of idolatry was broken.

\* \* \* \* \*

*The Conquest of Bhatia*

When Sultan Mahmud had settled the affairs of Sijistan, and the action of his beating pulse had subsided, and the clouds had dispersed, he determined upon invading Bhatia. So he collected armies with trustworthy guides and valiant standard bearers, and crossing the Indus in the neighbourhood<sup>1</sup> of Multan, he marched towards the city of Bhatia, the walls of which the wings of the eagle could not surmount, and which was surrounded as by the ocean with a ditch of exceeding depth and breadth. The city was as wealthy as imagination can conceive in property, armies, and military weapons. There were elephants as headstrong as Satan. The ruler at

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "behind," or "beyond" (and Ibn Asir uses the same expression), but the position of Multan is such as to render the author's meaning very doubtful.

that time was Biji Rai,<sup>1</sup> and the pride which he felt in the state of his preparations, induced him to leave the walls of his fort and come forth to oppose the Musulmans, in order to frighten them with his warriors and elephants and great prowess.

The Sultan fought against him for three days and nights, and the lightnings of his swords and the meteors of his spears fell on the enemy. On the fourth morning a most furious onslaught was made with swords and arrows, which lasted till noon, when the Sultan ordered a general charge to be made upon the infidels. The friends of God advancing against the masters of lies and idolatry with cries of "God is exceeding great!" broke their ranks, and rubbed their noses upon the ground of disgrace. The Sultan himself, like a stallion, went on dealing hard blows around him on the right hand and on the left, and cut those who were clothed in mail right in twain, making the thirsty infidels drink the cup of death. In this single charge he took several elephants, which Biji Rai regarded as the chief support of his centre. At last God granted victory to the standards of Islam, and the infidels retreated behind the walls of their city for protection. The Musulmans obtained possession of the gates of the city, and employed themselves in filling up the ditch and destroying the scarp and counterscarp, widening the narrow roads, and opening the closed entrances.

When Biji Rai saw the desperate state to which he was reduced, he escaped by stealth and on foot into the forest with a few attendants, and sought refuge on the top of some hills. The Sultan despatched a select body of his troops in pursuit of them, and surrounded them as a collar does the neck; and when Biji Rai saw that there was no chance of escape, he drew his dagger, struck it into his breast, and went to the fire which God has lighted for infidels and those who deny a resurrection, for those who say no prayers, hold no fasts, and tell no beads.—Amen.

The army of the Sultan kept moving on, and committing slaughter and pillage. One hundred and twenty elephants<sup>2</sup>

<sup>1</sup> Dow says "Bachera"; S. de Sacy "Bohaira"; Wilken "Bahira"; Briggs "Beejy Ray." [Ibn Asir has "Bahira."]

<sup>2</sup> Firishta says 280, and Mirkhond 120, but does not notice that this was the personal share of the Sultan.

fell to the share of the Sultan, besides the usual share of property and arms. He also obtained an accession of territory without any solicitation. He remained at Bhatia till he had cleansed it from pollution, and appointed a person there to teach those who had embraced Islam, and lead them in the right way. He then returned to Ghazna in triumph and glory, and his fortune was in the equator (ascendant); but as his return was during the rains, when the rivers were full and foaming, and as the mountains were lofty, and he had to fight with enemies, he lost the greater part of his baggage in the rivers, and many of his valiant warriors were dispersed. God, nevertheless, preserved his person from those calamities which beset his road, for God is the friend of the virtuous....

### *The Capture of Multan*

Intelligence reached the Sultan of the acts committed by the ruler of Multan, Abi-l futuh, namely, respecting the impurity of his religion, the seditious designs of his heart, and the evidence of his evil doings, and his endeavours to make proselytes of the inhabitants of his country. The Sultan, zealous for the Muhammadan religion, thought it a shame to allow him to retain his government while he practised such wickedness and disobedience, and he beseeched the assistance of a gracious God in bringing him to repentance, and attacking him with that design in view.

He then issued orders for the assembling of armies from among the Muslims for the purpose of joining him in this holy expedition,—those on whom God had set his seal and selected for the performance of good deeds, and obtaining either victory or martyrdom. He departed with them towards Multan in the spring, when the rivers were swollen with the rain, and the Indus and other rivers prevented the passage of the cavalry, and offered difficulties to his companions. The Sultan desired of Andpal,<sup>1</sup> the chief of Hind, that he would allow him to march through his territory, but Andpal would not consent, and offered opposition, which resulted in his discomfiture. The Sultan, consequently,

<sup>1</sup> No doubt Anand-pal as in Firishta; Mirkhond calls him Jaipal, as in the *Tarikh-i Alfī*.

thought it expedient to attack Rai Andpāl first, notwithstanding his power, in his jungles, to bow down his broad neck, to cut down the trees of his jungles, to destroy every single thing he possessed, and thus to obtain the fruit of two parades by this double conquest.

So he stretched out upon him the hand of slaughter, imprisonment, pillage, depopulation, and fire, and hunted him from ambush to ambush, into which he was followed by his subjects, like "merchants of Hazramaut, who are never without their sheets."<sup>1</sup> The spears were tired of penetrating the rings of the coats of mail, the swords became blunt by the blows on the sides, and the Sultan pursued the Rai over hill and dale, over the soft and hard ground of his territory, and his followers either became a feast to the rapacious wild beasts of the passes and plains, or fled in distraction to the neighbourhood of Kashmir.

When Abi-l futuh, the ruler of Multan, heard what had happened to the chief of Hind, notwithstanding all his power and the lofty walls of his fort, and his shining sword, and when he began to measure their relative strength, and considered how Andpal, a much greater potentate than himself, had been subdued, he looked upon himself, as compared with the Sultan, as a ravine in comparison with the top of a mountain. He, therefore, determined with all expedition to load all his property on elephants, and carry it off to Sarandip, and he left Multan empty for the Sultan to do with it as he chose.

The Sultan marched towards Multan, beseeching God's aid against those who had introduced their neologies into religion and had disparaged it. The inhabitants of the place were blind in their errors, and desirous of extinguishing the light of God with their breath, so the Sultan invested Multan, took it by assault, treated the people with severity, and levied from them twenty thousand thousand dirhams with which to respite their sins. Then the reports of the Sultan's conquests spread over distant countries, and over the salt sea as far even as Egypt; Sind and her sister (Hind) trembled

<sup>1</sup>This verse is quoted by the author from a poet named Jariru-l Khadfi.

at his power and vengeance; his celebrity exceeded that of Alexander the Great, and heresy (*ilhad*), rebellion, and enmity, were suppressed.

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Indians in Mahmud's Army*

When the Sultan heard of I'lak Khan crossing the Jihun with 50,000 men or more, he went in haste from Tukhirstan to Balkh, and remained there in order to anticipate I'lak Khan, who wished to obtain supplies from that province. The Sultan advanced ready for action with an army composed of Turks, Indians, Khiljis, Afghans, and Ghaznivides.<sup>1</sup>

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Nawasa Shah*

After this victory over I'lak Khan, the Sultan resolved upon going to Hind for the purpose of making a sudden attack upon the person known as Nawasa Shah, one of the rulers of Hind, who had been established as governor over some of the territories in that country conquered by the Sultan, for the purpose of protecting their borders. Satan had got the better of Nawasa Shah, for he was again apostatising towards the pit of plural worship, had thrown off the slough of Islam, and held conversation with the chiefs of idolatry respecting the casting off the firm rope of religion from his neck. So the Sultan went swifter than the wind in that direction, and made the sword reek with the blood of his enemies. He turned Nawasa Shah out of his government, took possession of all the treasures which he had accumulated, re-assumed the government, and then cut down the harvest of idolatry with the sickle of his sword and spear. After God had granted him this and the previous victory, which were tried witnesses as to his exalted state and proselytism, he returned without difficulty to Ghazna.

### *Victory near Waikhind<sup>2</sup>*

The Sultan, contrary to the disposition of man, which induces him to prefer a soft to a hard couch, and the splendour of the cheeks of pomegranate-bosomed girls to well-tempered sword blades, was so offended at the standard

<sup>1</sup> De Sacy reads Ghozz, perhaps more correctly.

<sup>2</sup> This is left out by all the other chroniclers.

which Satan had raised in Hind, that he determined on another holy expedition to that land. On the last day of Rabi'u-l-akhir of the same year,<sup>1</sup> the Sultan prayed God for the accomplishment of his wishes. When he had reached as far as the river of Waihind, he was met by Brahmanpal, the son of Andpal, at the head of a valiant army, with white swords, blue spears, yellow coats of mail, and ash-coloured elephants. Fight opened its crooked teeth, attacks were frequent like flaming meteors, arrows fell like rain from bows, and the grinding-stone of slaughter revolved, crushing the bold and the powerful. The battle lasted from morning till evening, and the infidels were near gaining the victory, had not God aided by sending the slaves of the household to attack the enemy in rear, and put them to flight. The victors obtained thirty large elephants, and slew the vanquished wherever they were found in jungles, passes, plains, and hills.

### *Capture of Bhimnagar*

The Sultan himself joined in the pursuit, and went after them as far as the fort called Bhimnagar,<sup>2</sup> which is very strong, situated on the promontory of a lofty hill, in the midst of impassable waters. The kings of Hind, the chiefs of that country, and rich devotees, used to amass their treasures and precious jewels, and send them time after time to be presented to the large idol that they might receive a reward for their good deeds and draw near to their God.

<sup>1</sup> The year is not mentioned, but that the Sultan should have gained his victory near Balkh, expelled Nawasa Shah, that he should have returned to Ghazna and rested and then have commenced another expedition, all within four months of the same year, is to suppose almost an impossibility, unless Nawasa Shah was on the Peshawar frontier.

<sup>2</sup> Dow calls it "Bime"; S. de Sacy "Behim-bagra"; Utbi has "Bhim-naghar"; and Rashidu-d din "Bhinbaghra"; Wilken "Behim Bagsa"; Briggs "Bheem"; D'Herbelot and Rampoldi, "Behesim"; *Tarikh-i Alfi*, "Bhim." [There can be no question that the lithographed edition is right in declaring the name to be Bhimnagar. Firishta uses the names of Nagarkot, or Fort of Bhim (Briggs, I, 48). It is the modern Kangra which is still called Nagarkot.]

So the Sultan advanced near to this crow's fruit,<sup>1</sup> and this accumulation of years, which had attained such an amount that the backs of camels would not carry it, nor vessels contain it, nor writers' hands record it, nor the imagination of an arithmetician conceive it.

The Sultan brought his forces under the fort and surrounded it, and prepared to attack the garrison vigorously, boldly and wisely. When the defenders saw the hills covered with the armies of plunderers, and the arrows ascending towards them like flaming sparks of fire, great fear came upon them, and, calling out for mercy, they opened the gates, and fell on the earth, like sparrows before a hawk, or rain before lightning. Thus did God grant an easy conquest of this fort to the Sultan, and bestowed on him as plunder the products of mines and seas, the ornaments of heads and breasts, to his heart's content. The Sultan entered the fort with Abu Nasr Ahmad bin Muhammad Farighuni, the ruler of Juzjan, and all his own private attendants, and appointed his two chief chamberlains, Altuntash and Asightigin,<sup>2</sup> to take charge of the treasures of gold and silver and all the valuable property, while he himself took charge of the jewels. The treasures were laden on the backs of as many camels as they could procure, and the officers carried away the rest. The stamped coin amounted to seventy thousand thousand royal dirhams, and the gold and silver ingots amounted to seven hundred thousand four hundred *mans* in weight, besides wearing apparel and fine cloths of Sus, respecting which old men said they never remembered to have seen any so fine, soft, and embroidered. Among the booty was a house of white silver, like to the houses of rich men, the length of which was thirty yards and the breadth fifteen.<sup>3</sup> It could be taken to pieces and put together again. And there was a canopy, made of the fine linen of Rum, forty yards long and twenty

<sup>1</sup> That is, the best; and probably there is an allusion in the expression to the blackness of the Hindus, the early Muhammadans being fond of designating them as "crows," as will be seen from the *Taju-l-Ma-asir*.

<sup>2</sup> [Reynolds gives this name as "Istargin."]

<sup>3</sup> [Jarbadkani, according to Reynolds, makes the measurement "sixty cubits long and fifty wide."]

broad, supported on two golden and two silver poles, which had been cast in moulds.

The Sultan appointed one of his most confidential servants to the charge of the fort and the property in it. After this he returned to Ghazna in triumph; and, on his arrival there, he ordered the court-yard of his palace to be covered with a carpet, on which he displayed jewels and unbored pearls and rubies, shining like sparks, or like wine congealed with ice, and emeralds like fresh sprigs of myrtle, and diamonds in size and weight like pomegranates. Then ambassadors from foreign countries, including the envoy from Taghan Khan, king of Turkistan, assembled to see the wealth which they had never yet even read of in books of the ancients, and which had never been accumulated by kings of Persia or of Rum, or even by Karun, who had only to express a wish and God granted it.

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### *Capture of Narain<sup>1</sup>*

The Sultan again resolved on an expedition to Hind, and marched towards Narain, urging his horses and moving over ground, hard and soft, until he came to the middle of Hind, where he reduced chiefs, who, up to that time obeyed no master, overturned their idols, put to the sword the vagabonds of that country, and with delay and circumspection proceeded to accomplish his design. He fought a battle with the chiefs of the infidels, in which God bestowed upon him much booty in property, horses, and elephants, and the friends of God committed slaughter in every hill and valley. The Sultan returned to Ghazna with all the plunder he had obtained.

### *Embassy from India to Ghazna*

When the ruler (*malik*) of Hind had witnessed the calamities which had inflicted ruin on his country and his subjects, in consequence of his contests with the Sultan, and had seen their effects far and near, he became satisfied that he could not contend with him. So he sent some of his relatives and chiefs to the Sultan, supplicating him not to invade India again, and offering him money to abstain from

<sup>1</sup> [This is called "Nardin" in Reynolds' translation, p. 360.]

that purpose, and their best wishes for his future prosperity. They were told to offer a tribute of fifty elephants, each equal to two ordinary ones in size and strength, laden with the products and rarities of his country. He promised to send this tribute every year; accompanied by two thousand men, for service at the Court of the Sultan.

The Sultan accepted his proposal, as Islam was promoted by the humility of his submission and the payment of tribute. He sent an envoy to see that these conditions were carried into effect. The ruler of Hind strictly fulfilled them and despatched one of his vassals with the elephants to see that they were duly presented to the Sultan. So peace was established, and tribute was paid, and caravans travelled in full security between Khurasan and Hind.

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### *Conquest of Nardin<sup>1</sup>*

After the Sultan had purified Hind from idolatry, and raised mosques therein, he determined to invade the capital of Hind, to punish those who kept idols and would not acknowledge the unity of God. He collected his warriors and distributed money amongst them. He marched with a large army in the year 404 H., A.D. 1013 during a dark night, and at the close of autumn, on account of the purity of the southern breezes at that season. When the Sultan had arrived near the frontier of Hind, snow fell, such as had never been seen before, insomuch that the passes of the hills were closed, and mountains and valleys became of one level. The feet of the horses and camels were affected by the cold, so it may be conceived what the faces, hands, and feet of men suffered. The well-known roads were concealed, and the right could not be distinguished from the left, or what was behind from that which was before, and they were unable to return until God should give the order. The Sultan employed himself, in the meantime, in collecting supplies, and sent for his generals from the different provinces. After having thus accumulated the means of warfare, and having been joined by his soldiers, who had come from different directions, in number equal to the drops

<sup>1</sup> [Reynolds, in his translation of Jarbadkani's version, gives the name as "Nazin," and the date "400," page 388.]

of an autumnal rain, he left these winter quarters in the spring, and, had the earth been endowed with feeling, it would have groaned under the weight of the iron, the warriors, the horses, and the beasts of burden. The guides marched on in front over hill and dale, before the sun arose, and even before the light of the stars was extinguished. He urged on his horses<sup>1</sup> for two months, among broad and deep rivers, and among jungles in which wild cattle even might lose their way.

When the Sultan arrived near the end of his destination, he set his cavalry in array, and formed them into different bodies, appointing his brother, Amir Nasr, son of Nasirud-din, to command the right wing, consisting of valiant heroes; Arslanu-l Jazib to the left wing, consisting of powerful young men; and Abu 'Abdulla Muhammad bin Ibrahimu-t Tai to the advance guard, consisting of fiery Arab cavaliers. To the centre he appointed Altuntash, the chamberlain, with the Sultan's personal slaves and attendants, as firm as mountains.

Nidar Bhim, the enemy of God and the chief of Hind, alarmed at this sudden invasion, summoned his vassals and generals, and took refuge within a pass, which was narrow, precipitous, and inaccessible. They entrenched themselves behind stones, and closed the entrance to the pass by their elephants, which looked like so many hills from their lofty stature. Here he remained in great security, being persuaded that the place was impervious to attack, but he did not know that God is the protector of the faithful, and the annihilator of infidels !

When the Sultan learnt the intention of Nidar Bhim, with respect to the protraction of the war, and his confidence in his security, he advanced against them with his Dailamite warriors, and Satanic Afghan spearmen, and they penetrated the pass like gimlets into wood, ascending the hills like mountain goats, and descending them like torrents of water. The action lasted for several days without intermission, till at last some of the Hindus were drawn out into the plain to fight, like oil sucked up into the wick of a candle, or like

<sup>1</sup> This may also be rendered "boats."

iron attracted by a magnet, and there they were assaulted and killed by the cavalry, just as the knight on the chess-board demolishes pawns.

When his vassals had joined Nidar Bhim with reinforcements, he consented to leave his entrenchments and come out himself into the plain, having the hills behind him, and elephants drawn up on each wing. The battle raged furiously, and when the elephants of the Hindus moved on, with the object of destroying their opponents, they were assailed by showers of arrows upon their trunks and eyes. When Abu Abdullu-t Tai had through his bravery advanced into the midst of the infidels, he was wounded in his head and different parts of his body; but the Sultan seeing the extreme danger to which his general was exposed, despatched part of his own guards to his assistance, who brought him out of the conflict to the Sultan, severely wounded in many places. The Sultan ordered him to be placed on an elephant, in order to relieve him from the pain of his wounds, and thus he was exalted like a king above all the leaders of the army.

The conflict continued as before until God blew the gale of victory on his friends, and the enemy were slain on the tops of the hills, and in the valleys, ravines, and beds of torrents. A large number of elephants, which the enemy had looked upon as strongholds to protect them, fell into the hands of the victors, as well as much other booty. So God granted the Sultan the victory of Nardin, such as added to the decoration of the mantle of Islam, which had not before that period extended to that place.

A stone was found there in the temple of the great Budda,<sup>1</sup> on which an inscription was written purporting that the temple had been founded fifty thousand years ago. The Sultan was surprised at the ignorance of these people, because those who believe in the true faith represent that only seven thousand years have elapsed since the creation of the world, and the signs of resurrection are even now approaching. The Sultan asked his wise men the meaning

<sup>1</sup> It is plainly so written in the Arabic original, and cannot be meant for But, "an idol," as that word is Persian.

of this inscription, and they all concurred in saying that it was false, and that no faith was to be put in the evidence of a stone.

The Sultan returned, marching in the rear of this immense booty, and slaves were so plentiful that they became very cheap; and men of respectability in their native land, were degraded by becoming slaves of common shopkeepers. But this is the goodness of God, who bestows honours on his own religion and degrades infidelity.

### *Conquest of Tanesar*

The Sultan learnt that in the country of Tanesar there were large elephants of the Sailaman (Ceylon) breed, celebrated for military purposes. The chief of Tanesar was on this account obstinate in his infidelity and denial of God. So the Sultan marched against him with his valiant warriors, for the purpose of planting the standards of Islam and extirpating idolatry. He marched through a desert which no one had yet crossed, except birds and wild beasts, for the foot of man and the shoe of horse had not traversed it. There was no water in it, much less any other kind of food. The Sultan was the first to whom God had granted a passage over this desert, in order that he might arrive at the accomplishment of his wishes.

Beneath it (Tanesar?) flowed a pure stream; the bottom was covered with large stones, and its banks were precipitous and sharp as the points of arrows. The Sultan had reached this river where it takes its course through a hill-pass, behind which the infidels had posted themselves, in the rear of their elephants, with a large number of infantry and cavalry. The Sultan adopted the stratagem of ordering some of his troops to cross the river by two different fords, and to attack the enemy on both sides; and when they were all engaged in close conflict, he ordered another body of men to go up the bank of the stream, which was flowing through the pass with fearful impetuosity, and attack the enemy amongst the ravines, where they were posted in the greatest number. The battle raged fiercely, and about evening, after a vigorous attack on the part of the Musulmans, the enemy fled, leaving

their elephants, which were all driven into the camp of the Sultan, except one, which ran off and could not be found. The largest were reserved for the Sultan.

The blood of the infidels flowed so copiously, that the stream was discoloured, notwithstanding its purity, and people were unable to drink it. Had not night come on and concealed the traces of their flight, many more of the enemy would have been slain. The victory was gained by God's grace, who has established Islam for ever as the best of religions, notwithstanding that idolaters revolt against it. The Sultan returned with plunder which it is impossible to recount. Praise be to God, the protector of the world, for the honour he bestows upon Islam and Musulmans !

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### *Passage of the Panjab and the Jamna*

On the Sultan's return to Ghazna from Khwarizm, he appointed spies to go to the frontier of Hind and communicate all particulars respecting that country, and he resolved upon employing the close of the year in resting his horses and troopers, and in contemplating schemes of future religious conquests.

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As no part of Hind remained unconquered, except Kashmir, he resolved on an expedition to that country. Between it and Ghazna there were forests resounding with the notes of birds and other animals, and the winds even lose their way in it. It happened that 20,000 men from Mawarau-n nahr and its neighbourhood, who were with the Sultan, were anxious to be employed on some holy expedition, in which they might obtain martyrdom. The Sultan determined to march with them towards Kanauj, which no other king but the all-powerful Gushtasp had been able to take, as has been related in the histories of the Magians.

Between Ghazna and Kanauj the journey occupies three months, even for camels and horses. So the Sultan bade farewell to sleep and ease, and praying God for success, he departed accompanied by his valiant warriors. He crossed in safety the Sihun (Indus), Jelam, Chandraha, Ubra

(Ravi), Bah (Biyah), and Sataldur (Sutlej). These are all rivers, deep beyond description; even elephants' bodies are concealed in them, so it may easily be conceived what is the case with horses. They bear along with them large stones, so camels and horses are of course in danger of being carried down the stream. Whatever countries the Sultan traversed, ambassadors were sent to him proffering submission, inasmuch that Sabli, son of Shahi,<sup>1</sup> son of Bamhi<sup>2</sup> who held the passes leading into Kashmir, looking upon the Sultan as one sent by God, also came forward, offering his allegiance, and his services as a guide. He led the way, crossing forest after forest. At midnight the drum sounded for the march, and the friends of God mounted their horses, ready to bear the inconvenience of the journey, and they marched on until the sun began to decline from the meridian. They placed behind their backs the river Jun (Jamna), crossing it on the 20th of Rajab, 409 H., 2nd December, 1018 A.D.

### *Capture of Baran*

The Sultan took all the lofty hill-forts which he met on the road, so lofty indeed were they that beholders sprained the back of their necks in looking up at them. At length he arrived at the fort of Barba (Baran<sup>3</sup>), in the country of Hardat,<sup>4</sup> who was one of the Rais, that is "kings" in the Hindi language. When Hardat heard of this invasion by the protected warriors of God, who advanced like the waves

<sup>1</sup> ["Janki," marginal note in Dehli Edn.]

<sup>2</sup> S. de Sacy calls him "Khabli-ben-Schami." Firishta says, "When Mahmud reached the confines of Kashmir, the ruler sent presents, which were graciously accepted, and he accompanied the advance guard." Briggs, without authority, adds that Mahmud had established this prince in Kashmir. [Reynolds gives the names Habali-'bn Shasni.]

<sup>3</sup> Ali bin Muslih says, in his commentary, that the name is Barbah, but that some copies read Barna. S. de Sacy reads "Barma," so does [Jarbadkani, Reynolds, 451] Karamat 'Ali and Rashidu-d din. The original copies read "Barba," and "Burdur." I make it "Baran," the old name of Bulandshahr.

<sup>4</sup> S. de Sacy gives "Haroun" and "Harout." Ali bin Muslih says it is either "Hurdiz," or "Hurdit." [Jarbadkani, according to Reynolds, reads "Harun," p. 451.]

of the sea, with the angels around them on all sides, he became greatly agitated, his steps trembled, and he feared for his life, which was forfeited under the law of God. So he reflected that his safety would best be secured by conforming to the religion of Islam, since God's sword was drawn from the scabbard, and the whip of punishment was uplifted. He came forth, therefore, with ten thousand men, who all proclaimed their anxiety for conversion, and their rejection of idols. God confirmed the promises he had made, and rendered assistance to the Sultan.

### *Capture of Kulchand's Fort*

After some delay, the Sultan marched against the fort of Kulchand, who was one of the leaders of the accursed Satans, who assumed superiority over other rulers, and was inflated with pride, and who employed his whole life in infidelity, and was confident in the strength of his dominions. Whoever fought with him sustained defeat and flight, and he possessed much power, great wealth, many brave soldiers, large elephants, and strong forts, which were secured from attack and capture. When he saw that the Sultan advanced against him in the endeavour to engage in a holy war, he drew up his army and elephants within a deep forest ready for action.

The Sultan sent his advance guard to attack Kulchand, which penetrating through the forest like a comb through a head of hair, enabled the Sultan to discover the road which led to the fort.<sup>1</sup> The Musulmans exclaim "God is exceedingly great," and those of the enemy, who were anxious for death, stood their ground. Swords and spears were used in close conflict.... The infidels, when they found all their attempts fail, deserted the fort, and tried to cross the foaming river which flowed on the other side of the fort, thinking that beyond it they would be in security; but many of them were slain, taken, or drowned in the attempt, and went to the fire of hell. Nearly fifty<sup>2</sup> thousand men were killed

<sup>1</sup> The *Tarikh-i Alfī* calls the fort by the name of "Mand."

<sup>2</sup> Jarbadkani reduces the number to "five thousand," according to Reynolds, p. 454.

and drowned, and became the prey of beasts and crocodiles. Kulchand, taking his dagger, slew his wife, and then drove it into his own body. The Sultan obtained by this victory one hundred and eighty-five powerful elephants, besides other booty.

### *Capture of Mathura*

The Sultan then departed from the environs of the city,<sup>1</sup> in which was a temple of the Hindus. The name of this place was *Maharatu-l<sup>2</sup> Hind*. He saw there a building of exquisite structure, which the inhabitants said had been built, not by men, but by Genii, and there he witnessed practices contrary to the nature of man, and which could not be believed but from evidence of actual sight. The wall of the city was constructed of hard stone, and two gates opened upon the river flowing under the city, which were erected upon strong and lofty foundations, to protect them against the floods of the river and rains. On both sides of the city there were a thousand houses, to which idol temples were attached, all strengthened from top to bottom by rivets of iron, and all made of masonry work; and opposite to them were other buildings, supported on broad wooden pillars, to give them strength.

In the middle of the city there was a temple larger and firmer than the rest, which can neither be described nor painted. The Sultan thus wrote respecting it : " If any should wish to construct a building equal to this, he would not be able to do it without expending an hundred thousand thousand red dinars, and it would occupy two hundred years, even though the most experienced and able workmen were

<sup>1</sup> S. de Sacy has "batie sur une eminence." I see no authority for this in the original.

<sup>2</sup> Authors who have succeeded 'Utbi call this Mathura, but there is no other authority for it, but that which is in the text. It is probable that it may be here called "Maharat," because in speaking below of the Great Temple, it is said to have been built by *Maharat*, i.e., experienced men, the plural of *Mahir*. Its resemblance to Mathura may have induced the pun. 'Ali bin Muslih Sam'ani, in his Commentary, derives the word from *Harir*, "a dog's whine," because it resembles the chanting sound uttered by Hindus in worship. This is nonsense.

employed." Among the idols there were five made of red gold, each five yards high, fixed in the air without support. In the eyes of one of these idols there were two rubies, of such value, that if any one were to sell such as are like them, he would obtain fifty thousand dinars. On another, there was a sapphire purer than water, and more sparkling than crystal; the weight was four hundred and fifty miskals. The two feet of another idol weighed four thousand four hundred miskals, and the entire quantity of gold yielded by the bodies of these idols was ninety-eight thousand three hundred miskals. The idols of silver amounted to two hundred, but they could not be weighed without breaking them to pieces and putting them into scales. The Sultan gave orders that all the temples should be burnt with naphtha and fire, and levelled with the ground.

### *The Conquest of Kanauj*

After this, the Sultan went on with the intention of proceeding to Kanauj, and he derived a favourable omen, when he opened the Kur'an, from finding the resemblance of "Kanauj" to "victories."<sup>1</sup> He left the greater part of his army behind, and took only a small body of troops with him against Rai Jaipal, who had also but a few men with him, and was preparing to fly for safety to some of his dependent vassals.

The Sultan levelled to the ground every fort which he had in this country, and the inhabitants of them either accepted Islam, or took up arms against him. He collected so much booty, prisoners and wealth, that the fingers of those who counted them would have been tired.

He arrived on the 8th of Sha'ban at Kanauj, which was deserted by Jaipal<sup>2</sup> on hearing of his approach, for he fled

<sup>1</sup>"Kanauj" and "futuh", when spelt without diacritical points, assume the same form: a good illustration of the difficulty of reading accurately oriental names,—here two words of the same form, have not a letter in common.

<sup>2</sup>S. de Sacy reads "Hebal," Don calls the Raja "Karrah." Reinaud reads "Raja Pal," and "Rajaipal." It may be presumed he is the same as the "Puru Jaipal," subsequently mentioned. [Jarbadkani has "Haipal," Reynolds, 456.]

across the Ganges, which the Hindus regard as of exceeding sanctity, and consider that its source is in the paradise of heaven. When they burn their dead, they throw the ashes into this river, as they consider that the waters purify them from sins. Devotees come to it from a distance, and drown themselves in its stream, in the hope of obtaining eternal salvation, but in the end it will only carry them to hell, so that it will neither kill them nor make them alive.

The Sultan advanced to the fortifications of Kanauj, which consisted of seven distinct forts, washed by the Ganges, which flowed under them like the ocean. In Kanauj, there were nearly ten thousand temples, which the idolaters falsely and absurdly represented to have been founded by their ancestors two or three hundred thousand years ago. They worshipped and offered their vows and supplications to them, in consequence of their great antiquity. Many of the inhabitants of the place fled and were scattered abroad like so many wretched widows and orphans, from the fear which oppressed them, in consequence of witnessing the fate of their deaf and dumb idols. Many of them thus effected their escape, and those who did not fly were put to death. The Sultan took all seven forts in one day, and gave his soldiers leave to plunder them and take prisoners.

### *Capture of Munj*

He then went to Munj,<sup>1</sup> known as the fort of Brahmans, the inhabitants of which were independent as headstrong camels. They prepared to offer opposition, like evil demons and obstinate Satans, and when they found they could not withstand the Musulmans, and that their blood would be shed, they took to flight, throwing themselves down from the apertures and the lofty and broad battlements, but most of them were killed in this attempt.

<sup>1</sup> [Jarbadkani has "Manaj," Reynolds, 457.] The *Rauzatu-s-safi* has "Mih" and "Bhij," Haidar Razi, "Mabaj," Briggs says "the fort of Munj, full of Rajputs." The *Tarikh-i Alfi* says "Manj." Firishta says it held out fifteen days.

*Capture of Asi*

After this, the Sultan advanced against the fort of Asi,<sup>1</sup> the ruler of which was Chandal Bhor, one of the chief men and generals of the Hindus. He was always engaged in a career of victory, and at one time he was at war with the Rai of Kanauj, when the campaign lasted a long time, but in the end the Rai was compelled to retreat, after having put to some trouble the friends of the ruler of Asi. Around his fort there was an impenetrable and dense jungle, full of snakes which no enchanters could tame, and so dark that even the rays of the full moon could not be discerned in it. There were broad and deep ditches all around.

When Chandal heard of the advance of the Sultan, he lost his heart from excess of fright, and as he saw death with his mouth open towards him, there was no resource to him but flight. The Sultan ordered therefore that his five forts should be demolished from their foundations, the inhabitants buried in their ruins, and the demoniacal soldiers of the garrison plundered, slain, and imprisoned.

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*Defeat of Chand Rai*

The Sultan, when he heard of the flight of Chandal, was sorely afflicted, and turned his horse's head towards Chand Rai, one of the greatest men in Hind, who resided in the fort of Sharwa,<sup>2</sup> and in his pride and self-sufficiency thought the following verse applicable to himself:

"I sneeze with expanded nostrils, and hold the Pleiades in my hand even while sitting."

Between him and Puru Jaipal,<sup>3</sup> there had been constant fights in which many men and warriors had fallen in the field, and at last they consented to peace, in order to save further bloodshed and invasion of their respective borders. Puru Jaipal sought his old enemy's daughter, that he might

<sup>1</sup>S. de Sacy calls it "Aster," and "Assir." [Reynolds has "Aster, held by Jandbal the violent."]

<sup>2</sup>[Sirsawa, to the east of the Jumna near Saharanpur.—Cunningham.]

<sup>3</sup>S. de Sacy reads "Perou Hebal," and considers him the same as the Raja of Kanauj, previously called "Hebal." (See Thomas' *Prinsep*, I, 292.)

give her in marriage to his son, Bhimpal, thus cementing the peace between them for ever, and preserving their swords within their sheaths. He sent his son to obtain the bride from Chand Rai, who imprisoned the son and demanded retribution for the losses which had been inflicted by the father. Jaipal was thus compelled to refrain from proceeding against Chand Rai's fort and country, being unable to release his son; but constant skirmishes occurred between them, until the arrival of Sultan Mahmud in those parts, who, through the kindness of God, had wish after wish gratified in a succession of conquests.

Puru Jaipal in order to save his life, entered into a friendly engagement with Bhoj Chand<sup>1</sup> who was proud in the strength of his forts and their difficulty of access, and there he considered himself secure against pursuit in his inaccessible retreat. But Chand Rai, on the contrary, took up arms, trusting in the strength of his fort; but had he remained in it he would infallibly have had it destroyed, and had he trusted to his army, it would have been of no avail. Under these circumstances, Bhimpal<sup>2</sup> wrote him a letter to this effect: "Sultan Mahmud is not like the rulers of Hind, and is not the leader of black men. It is obviously advisable to seek safety from such a person, for armies flee away before the very name of him and his father. I regard his bridle as much stronger than yours, for he never contents himself with one blow of the sword, nor does his army content itself with one hill out of a whole range. If therefore you design to contend with him, you will suffer, but do as you like—you know best. If you wish for your own safety, you will remain in concealment."

Chand Rai considered that Bhimpal had given him sound advice and that danger was to be incurred by acting contrary to his suggestions. So he departed secretly with his property, elephants, and treasure, to the hill country,

<sup>1</sup> Apparently the same as Chandal Bhor, the governor of Asi. Some copies read Bhoj-deo, whom M. Reinaud supposes to be the same as Bhoj-deva, who is mentioned by Al Biruni as the king of Malwa.—See *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 261.

<sup>2</sup> S. de Sacy calls him "Behimal," and thinks he was probably the son of Perou-Hebal, whom Chand Rai retained as a prisoner.

which was exceedingly lofty, hiding himself in the jungles which the sun could not penetrate, and concealing even the direction of his flight, so that there was no knowing whether he was gone, or whether he had sped by night or day. The object of Bhimpal in recommending the flight of Chand Rai was, that the Rai should not fall into the net of the Sultan, and thus be made a Musulman, as had happened to Bhimpal's uncle and relations, when they demanded quarter in their distress.

The Sultan invested and captured the fort, notwithstanding its strength and height. Here he got plenty of supplies and booty, but he did not obtain the real object of his desire, which was to seize Chand Rai, and which he now determined to effect by proceeding in pursuit of him. Accordingly, after marching fifteen parasangs through the forest, which was so thorny that the faces of his men were scarified and bloody, and through stony tracts which battered and injured the horses' shoes, he at last came up to his enemy, shortly before midnight on the 25th of Sha'ban (6th January, 1019 A.D.). They had travelled over high and low ground without any marked road, not like merchants of Hazramaut travelling at ease with their mantles around them.

The Sultan summoned the most religiously disposed of his followers, and ordered them to attack the enemy immediately. Many infidels were consequently slain or taken prisoners in this sudden attack, and the Musulmans paid no regard to the booty till they had satiated themselves with the slaughter of the infidels and worshippers of the sun and fire. The friends of God searched the bodies of the slain for three whole days, in order to obtain booty. The elephants were carried off, some by force, some were driven, and some went without any compulsion towards Mahmud, upon whom God bestows, out of his great kindness, not only ordinary plunder, but drives elephants towards him. Therefore they were called "God-brought,"<sup>1</sup> in gratitude to the Almighty for sending elephants to the Sultan, which are only driven by iron goads, and are not usually captured

<sup>1</sup> This word is represented by the Persian "Khuda-award," in the middle of the Arabic text.

without stratagem and deceit: whereas, in this instance, they came of their own accord, leaving idols, preferring the service of the religion of Islam. . . .

The booty amounted in gold and silver, rubies and pearls, nearly to three thousand thousand dirhams, and the number of prisoners may be conceived from the fact that each was sold for from two to ten dirhams.<sup>1</sup> These were afterwards taken to Ghazna, and merchants came from distant cities to purchase them, so that the countries of Mawarau-n nahr, Irak, and Khurasan were filled with them, and the fair and the dark, the rich and the poor, were commingled in one common slavery.

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### *Battle of the Rahib*

After the expedition against the Afghans, the Sultan turned again towards Hind with his bold warriors, whose greatest pleasure was to be in the saddle, which they regarded as if it were a throne; and hot winds they looked on as refreshing breezes, and the drinking of dirty water as so much pure wine, being prepared to undergo every kind of privation and annoyance. When he arrived in that country, he granted quarter to all those who submitted, but slew those who opposed him. He obtained a large amount of booty before he reached the river, known by the name of Rahib.<sup>2</sup> It was very deep, and its bottom was muddy like tar used for anointing scabby animals, and into it the feet of horses and camels sank deeply, so the men took off their coats of mail and made themselves naked before crossing it.

Puru Jaipal was encamped on the other side of the river, as a measure of security, in consequence of this sudden attack, with his warriors dusky as night, and his elephants all caparisoned. He showed a determination to resist the passage of the Sultan, but at night he was making preparations to escape down the river. When the Sultan learnt

<sup>1</sup> The *Tarikh-i Alfi* adds that the fifth share due to the Saiyids was 150,000 slaves.

<sup>2</sup> Reinaud observes that 'Uthbi does not name the river, but the place where the Raja had taken up his position was called "Rahib," which means in Arabic "a monk." I translate 'Uthbi differently.—See *Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 267.

this, from which the weakness of his enemy was apparent, he ordered inflated skins to be prepared, and directed some of his men to swim over on them. Jaipal seeing eight men swimming over to that distant bank, ordered a detachment of his army, accompanied by five elephants, to oppose their landing, but the eight men plied their arrows so vigorously, that the detachment was not able to effect that purpose. When the Sultan witnessed the full success of these men, he ordered all his soldiers who could swim to pass over at once, and promised them henceforward a life of repose after that day of trouble. First his own personal guards crossed this difficult stream, and they were followed by the whole army. Some swam over on skins, some were nearly drowned, but eventually all landed safely; and praised be God ! not even a hair of their horses' tails was hurt<sup>1</sup> nor was any of their property injured.

When they had all reached the opposite bank, the Sultan ordered his men to mount their horses, and charge in such a manner as to put the enemy to flight. Some of the infidels asked for mercy after being wounded, some were taken prisoners, some were killed, and the rest took to flight, and two hundred and seventy gigantic elephants fell into the hands of the Musulmans.<sup>2</sup>

#### EXTRACT FROM THE SHARH-I TARIKHI YAMINI

#### *The Conquest of Mathura and Kanauj*

*Mathura* : The proper way of pronouncing this word is "Maharrah." Some people say this is the fifth conjugation of "Harir,"<sup>3</sup> on account of the Hindus chanting their prayers in that city. In some copies it is written "Mahrah," and in others "Mahharah."

<sup>1</sup> Literally, "Praise be to God ! their horses' tails were not distant." S. de Sacy translates "Les autres en se tenant aux crines de leurs chevaux." The Jami says, "Some swam over near their horses." I have adopted Karamat 'Ali's as being more appropriate to the introduction of the pious ejaculation "Praised be God !"

<sup>2</sup> The *Jami'u-t Tawarikh* leaves out two hundred. That work and the Yamini are the only two which mention the victory on the Rahib.

<sup>3</sup> The real meaning of *Harir* is "a dog's whine." The derivation of an Indian name from an Arabic root shows the absurd ignorance of the commentator.

*Kanauj* : The proper way of pronouncing this word is "Kinnauj," with the last letter but slightly enunciated.

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*Sihum and Jelam* : The last name is spelt "Jailam," it is a city in Hind.

*Chinab* : The proper way of spelling the word is "Chanduraha." It is the name of a place in the country of Hind.

*Ravi* : The correct mode of writing this word is "Airan," but in some copies it is written "Iraya."

*Biyas* : The correct mode of spelling this name is "Yiyat."

*Sutlej* : This should be written "Shataludr." It is the name of a province in Hind. But I have ascertained from well-informed people that it should be Sataludr," not "Shataludr."

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*Janki* : This should be written "Chanki," one of the names current in Hind.

*Bamhi* : This should be written "Sammhi," another name current in Hind.

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*Jamna* : This should be written "Jaun," the name of a river in Hind.

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*Baran* : The mode of writing this name is "Barbah"; but in some copies it is "Barnah." It is a city among the cities of Hind.

*Hardat* : This is written "Hurdiz"; but in some copies it is represented as "Hurdib."

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# TARIKHU-S SUBUKTIGIN OF ABU-L FAZL AL BAIHAKI

[THE author<sup>1</sup> himself gives his name at full length as Khwaja Abu-l Fazl bin al Hasan al Baihaki. According to his own account he was sixteen years of age in 402 Hijra (A.D. 1011) and he writes of a period as late as 451 H. (A.D. 1059), being then as he says an old man, or, as would appear, approaching 70 years of age. Khaki Shirazi states that he died in 470 (A.D. 1077).]

The title of the work is sometimes read "*Tarikh-i Al-i Subuktigin*,"<sup>2</sup> and it is also known as the "*Tarikh-i Baihaki*." Its voluminous extent has also obtained for it the name of the "*Mujalladat-i Baihaki*; Volumes of Baihaki." The work would also seem to have been known under the name of the "*Tarikh-i Nasiri*," for a passage in the *Tarikh-i Wassaf* attributes a history of this name to Abu-l Fazl Baihaki. It therefore seems to be a title of this work, or at least of some of its earlier volumes devoted to the history of Nasiru-d din Subuktigin, in the same way as the later volumes containing the reign of Masud are entitled *Tarikh-i Mas'udi*.<sup>3</sup> The portion relating to Mahmud's history was called *Tajuz'l Futuh* as is evident from Unsuri's Kasaid.

Haji Khalfa, in his Lexicon, describes this work as a comprehensive history of the Ghaznivides in several volumes. Mirkhond quotes it among Persian histories, and in his preface to the *Rauzatu-s safá*, he says that it consists of thirty volumes. Firishta evidently refers to this author, when he speaks of the *Mujalladat* of Abu-l Fazl, at the beginning of Mahmud's reign, but it may be doubted if he ever saw the work. He does not notice it in his list of works, and he certainly did not use it for Masud's reign, as he omits many important events recorded in it. The *Mujalladat* are also referred to for the same reign by the *Tarikh-i Guzida*. The author is mentioned by Haidar Razi, by Ziau-d din Barni, by Abu-l Fazl in the *Ayin-i Akbari*, and by Jahangir in his Memoirs.

Though the work was thus well known to historians, a large portion of it seems to be irrecoverably lost, and the extant portions are of rare occurrence in India. After some research, Sir H. Elliot discovered a portion of the work in the possession of Ziau-d din Khan, of Loharu near Dehli, and he subsequently procured three other copies, one from Sprenger (Lucknow), another from Agra, and a third from Lahore. The Dehli MS. was forwarded to Morley, in England, who was previously in possession of a copy.<sup>4</sup> Another MS. was found in the Bodleian Library, and the libraries of Paris and St. Petersburg also possess one copy each. The last

<sup>1</sup> [The first part of this article has been rewritten by the Editor, partly from notes added by Sir H. Elliot to his original sketch, and partly from letters relating to the various extant MSS. addressed to Sir H. Elliot by Morley.]

<sup>2</sup> [Morley's edition of the text.]

<sup>3</sup> [*Mem. sur l'Inde*, p. 27.]

<sup>4</sup> [Purchased at a London bookstall for a few shillings.]

two were lent to Morley,<sup>1</sup> who, after a collation of six MSS., produced a revised text, which some years after his death was printed in the *Bibliotheca Indica* under the supervision of N. Lees and his staff of munshis. This comprises part of vol. 6, the whole of vols. 7, 8, 9, and part of vol. 10 of the original work. There is some confusion in the numbering of the volumes; for instance, the indices of the Dehli and Agra MSS. call that portion of the work vol. 5, which Morley calls vol. 6, but there is ample evidence among Sir H. Elliot's papers, that Morley took great pains to ascertain the correct division of the work, and his decision must be accepted.

All, or at any rate, six of the MSS. contain exactly the same matter, beginning and ending with the same words, and they further agree in showing a lacuna after the account of the raid to Benares (page 408 of Morley's edition), where about a page and a half of matter seems to be missing. Morley remarks that one copy had a marginal note of *Sic. in orig.*

Thus it is apparent that all these copies must have been taken immediately or intermediately from the same original. The dates of the various MSS. are not all known, but that of the Paris copy is 1019 Hijra (A.D. 1610). The inference to be drawn from these facts is, that the voluminous work of Baihaki was reduced to the remnant which we still possess by the end of the sixteenth century, and the chance of recovering the remainder, though not impossible, is beyond hope.

Baihaki has laid down the requisites for a good historian at the beginning of his tenth volume, and he has professed to conform to the model he has there laid down. He says :—"Man can be read by the heart of man. The heart is strengthened or weakened by what it hears and sees, and until it hears or sees the bad and the good, it knows neither sorrow nor joy in this world. Be it therefore known that the eyes and ears are the watchmen and spies of the heart, which report to it what they see and hear, that it may take advantage of the same, and represent it to Wisdom, who is a just judge, and can separate the true from the false, and can avail itself of that which is useful, and reject that which is otherwise. It is for this reason that man wishes to learn that which is concealed, that which is neither known nor heard of; that which has occurred in past times, and that which has not. But this historical knowledge can only be obtained with difficulty, either by travelling round the world and undergoing trouble, or searching in trustworthy books, and ascertaining the real occurrences from them. . . . There are two kinds of past history, and no third is known; either that which one hears from others, or that which one reads in books. It is a necessary condition that your informant should be trustworthy and true, and that wisdom should testify to the probability of the story, to give independent sanction to the statements, and that the book should be such that the reader or hearer should not reject but readily adopt its assertions.

<sup>1</sup> [A contrast to the retentive practices of our great libraries.]

Most people are so constituted that they love silly stories more than truth, such as those about fairies, hills, and the demons of the deserts and seas, which fools make so much fuss about : as where a narrator says that in a certain sea I saw an island, on which five hundred people landed, and we baked our bread and boiled our pots, and when the fire began to burn briskly, the heat descended into the earth, and it then moved away when we saw that it was merely a fish. Also, I saw such and such things moving on a certain hill. Also, how an old woman turned a man into an ass by witchcraft, and how another old woman by the same means, after rubbing oil in his ear, turned him into a man again, and other fables like to these which bring sleep, when they are repeated at night-time to people who are ignorant, for so they are considered by those who search for truth that they may believe it. Of these the number is exceedingly small, who can accept the true and reject the false. I, who have undertaken the history, have endeavoured so to manage, that whatever I write may be from my own observation, or from the accounts I have received from credible informants."

The *Tarikh-u-s Subuktigin* wears more the appearance of a gossiping memoir than an elaborate history. The author perpetually alludes to himself, his own intimacies, his own proceedings, and his own experiences. He gives us a graphic account of most of the contemporary nobles; the pursuits of the Emperor Mas'ud bin Mahmud; his dictations to his secretaries; his addiction to wine; and his repentance on the occasion of one of his visits to Hindustan, when he forswore liquor and threw the wine and drinking vessels into the river Jailam; which strongly reminds us of a later but identical freak of Babar's. We have a vivid representation of the court; the mode of transacting business, the agents by whom it was transacted, and the nature of the subjects which came under discussion before the council at Ghazni. [All related with such detail and verbosity as to be open to the charge of prolixity which the author apprehended. But although tedious, the work is eminently original, and it presents such a reflex of the doings and manners of the time that its minutiae and trifles frequently constitute its chief merit. The writer may not inaptly be described as an oriental Pepys.]

The book is very discursive, and by no means adheres to a chronological succession of events. At one time the author mentions his personal interviews with the famous Emperor Mahmud; at another we are favoured with a view of the court of Ibrahim or Mas'ud, then we are suddenly transported back again to that of Mahmud. He states in one part that he has written the events of fifty years in several thousand pages, and that if any one complains of his prolixity, it must be remembered that he has written of several princes and illustrious persons, and that the matter, therefore, was too important to be compressed in a small space, especially when it concerned the great emperors whose servant and subject he was.

The style of the work is a most singular kind of colloquial Persian, written down without any attempt at order and the due arrangement of the sentences; the construction is consequently often very perplexed and the meaning obscure. Had I not heard men from the neighbourhood of Ghazni speak Persian very much in the style of our author, I should have conceived the work to be a literal translation from the Arabic, the sequence of words according to that language being very frequently observed. In speaking of his tenth volume, the author says he intends to devote it to an account of the Emperor Mas'ud's last invasion of Hindustan, and to the history of Khwarizm. To enable him to accomplish the latter purpose, he confesses that he will be indebted to the history written by Bu Rihān, which he had seen some years before. This is, no doubt, the famous Abu Rihan al Biruni, mentioned in a former article, who was a native of Khwarizm, and a member of the learned society which was in his time congregated at the capital under the auspices of the king.

Besides this voluminous work, he quotes, as one of the histories written by him, "the *Makamat-i Mahamudi*," though, perhaps, this may mean merely passages in which he has written of the affairs of Mahmud in some of the previous volumes. He also distinctly mentions that he is the author of "*Tarikh-i Yaminī*." This cannot possibly allude to the famous work of 'Utbi just noticed, who, under the name of 'Abdu-l Jabbar, is frequently noticed in this fragment; Baihaki, therefore, by this expression probably means that part of his work in which he has written of Mahmud, entitled *Yaminu-d daula*.

The extracts from this work are more than usually copious, as they are calculated to attract particular attention.

In one of the passages we find mention of the capture of Benares as early as A.H. 424 (A.D. 1033) only three years after Mahmud's death. In other authors we have mention of an expedition to Kashmir during that year by Mas'ud himself, but no mention of Ahmad Nialtigin's capture of Benares. All we have hitherto known of the Indian transactions of that year is that the king resolved on making an expedition into India. He took the route of Sarsuti, situated among the hills of Kashmir, the garrison of which fort being intimidated, sent messengers to the king, promising valuable presents, and an annual tribute, if he would desist from his enterprise. Mas'ud felt disposed to listen to the proposals, until he understood that some Muhammadan merchants, having been seen by the garrison, were then captives in the place. He accordingly broke up the conference and besieged the fort, ordering the ditch to be filled up with sugarcanes from the adjacent plantations. This being done, he caused scaling-ladders to be applied to the walls; and the fort, after a bloody contest, was taken. The garrison, without distinction, was put to the sword, except the women and children, who were carried off by the soldiers as slaves. The king, moreover, commanded that a part

of the spoil should be given to the Muhammadans who had been prisoners in Sarsuti, and who had formerly lost their effects. This year is also recorded by Indian historians as remarkable for a great drought and famine in many parts of the world, especially in Persia and India, in which entire provinces were depopulated. The famine was succeeded by a pestilence, which swept many thousands from the face of the earth; for in less than one month forty thousand persons died in Ispahan alone.

The more celebrated Abu-l Fazl, the minister of Akbar, mentions in his *Ayin-i Akbari*, that Sultan Mahmud twice visited Benares; once in A.H. 410, and again in A.H. 413. I have in another work,<sup>1</sup> printed by direction of Government, pointed out the extreme improbability of these visits; and here the doubts are confirmed by a contemporary, who distinctly says that the Muhammadans had not yet penetrated so far before the time of Ahmad Nialtigin. Unfortunately, in the original a lacuna occurs at the very place where the extract closes, or we might have gained more information about this remote and interesting expedition.

The old form of spelling Lahore is also worthy of observation. Lahur is very unusual. Ziau-din Barni always spells it Lohur, and the Farhang-i Jahangiri says it is spelt Lanhaur, Lohawur, and Lahawar, as well as Lohur. It is only of late years that the uniform practice has been observed of spelling it Lahore.<sup>2</sup>

In another passage we have an account of an expedition to India in A.H. 429. In *Firishta* and *Mirkhond*, we have no intelligence under that year, but as they mention that Hansi was taken in A.H. 427, and as the extract mentions that it was commonly called a "virgin fort," because it had never yet been taken, no doubt, though the details are different, the same event is referred to.

Another extract is pregnant with information respecting the early credit assigned to Hindu soldiers, by their victorious enemies. Had we not other instances of the consideration in which the military qualities of Hindus were held, we might have hesitated to yield our belief that such sentiments could have been entertained by a chief of Ghazni. But we learn from other histories that even only fifty days after the death of Mahmud, his son despatched Sewand Rai, a Hindu chief, with a numerous body of Hindu cavalry, in pursuit of the nobles who had espoused the cause of his brother. In a few days a conflict took place, in which Sewand Rai, and the greatest part of his troops were killed; but not till after they had inflicted a heavy loss upon their opponents.<sup>3</sup>

Five years afterwards we read of Tilak, son of Jai Sen, commander of all the Indian troops in the service of the Ghaznivide monarch, being employed to attack the rebel chief, Ahmad

<sup>1</sup> [The "Glossary."]

<sup>2</sup> [On coins of this dynasty it is clearly engraved *Lohur*.]

<sup>3</sup> Wilken, 164.

Nialtigin. He pursued the enemy so closely that many thousands fell into his hands. Ahmad himself was slain while attempting to escape across a river, by a force of Hindu Jats, whom Tilak had raised against him. This is the same Tilak whose name is written in the *Tabakat-i Akbari*, as Malik bin Jai Sen, which, if correct, would convey the opinion of the author of that work, that this chief was a Hindu convert.

Five years after that event we find that Mas'ud, unable to withstand the power of the Seljuk Turkomans, retreated to India, and remained there for the purpose of raising a body of troops sufficient to make another effort to retrieve his affairs. It is reasonable therefore to presume that the greater part of these troops consisted of Hindus.

In the reign of his successor, when Abu 'Ali, Kotwal of Ghazni, was deputed to command the army in India, and maintain the Ghaznivide conquests in that country, we read of his sending a letter to Biji Rai, a general of the Hindus, who had done much service even in the time of Mahmud, inviting him to return to Ghazni, whence he had fled on account of some political dissensions, and had taken up his abode in the mountains of Kashmir.

These few instances will confirm the impressions which the extract is calculated to convey.

*Events of the Year 422 H. Investiture of Khwaja Ahmad Hasan<sup>1</sup>*

The first of Muharram of this year fell on a Tuesday. Amir Mas'ud, may God be pleased with him ! went during the day to the garden-palace with the intention of spending some time there. The public courtrooms were arranged in it, and many other buildings were added. One year when I went there, the courtyard of the palace and the shops were all reconstructed in a different manner, under the orders of the king, who was a very clever architect, and not excelled by any mathematician. And this new sarai which is still to be seen in Ghaznin, is a sufficient proof of this. There was at Shadiakh, in Naishapur, no palace or parade ground ; yet he designed both with his own hands, and built a sarai there, which now excites admiration, besides numerous smaller sarais and enclosures. At Bust he so increased the cantonments of the Amir, his father, that some of them exist to this day. This king was singularly excellent in everything. May the Almighty God, whose name should be respected, be merciful to him !

<sup>1</sup> [Morley's text, pages 168 to 198.]

From Hirat an order was despatched through the agents of Khwaja Bu Suhal Zauzani, summoning Khwaja Ahmad Hasan to the court, for Jangi,<sup>1</sup> the governor of the fort, had liberated him from prison, and he (the Khwaja) had said to Hajib Ariyaruk, commander of the army of Hindustan. "Your reputation at present stands rather bad; it is advisable that you should come with me and see his majesty, I will speak in your favour, and you shall return with a robe of honour and a good name. Affairs are now carefully settled, and such a generous and kind prince as Amir Mas'ud has mounted the throne." Ariyaruk was moved by his soft words, and the spells of the venerable man took effect upon him; so he accompanied the Khwaja on the way, and served him exceedingly well; for, indeed, amongst the civil officers of those days, no one possessed greater dignity and excellence than the Khwaja.

The great Khwaja 'Abdu-r Razzak, the eldest son of Khwaja Ahmad Hasan, who was detained in the fort of Nandna, was liberated, upon his own demand, by Sarugh, the cup-bearer, who brought him to his father. The son expressed his great obligation to Sarugh, before the father. The Khwaja said, I am under greater obligation to him than you are. He ordered him (Sarugh) to go back to Nandna, because it was not such a place that it should be left empty, and told him that on his reaching the court he would report his case and possibly gain him promotion. Sarugh immediately went back. The great Khwaja was very happy to come to Balkh. He went to see the Amir, and to pay his respects and duty. The Amir questioned him very warmly, gave him advice, and conversed with him kindly. He made obeisance and returned. He lodged in a house which was prepared for him, and took three days' rest, and then came again to court.

When this great man (says Abu-l Fazl Baihaki) had rested himself, a message was sent to him regarding the post of Wazir. Of course he did not accept it. Bu Suhal Zauzani was connected with him (the Amir), and had the arrangement of all his affairs; the amercing and approving

<sup>1</sup> [So in MS., Morley's edition has "Japki," or "Chapki."]

of men, the buying and selling, was all done by him. The Amir was constantly closeted with him and 'Abdus. These two persons were his chosen councillors, but they were both inimical to each other. The people of his father Mahmud's time had selected them that things might go peaceably. I never saw Bu Nasr, my instructor, more busy and perplexed at any time than he was now. When the messages were passing between the king and Khwaja Ahmad Hasan, the latter said to Bu Suhal, "I am become old and cannot do the duties. Bu Suhal Hamaduni is a qualified and experienced man, he might be appointed 'Ariz (general). The office of Wazir should be conferred on you, I will look on from a distance and assist you with any necessary advice." Bu Suhal said, "I did not expect this from my lord. What man am I? I am a worthless and useless person." The Khwaja said, "Holy God! since the time you came back from Damaghan to the Amir, have you not performed all the duties, even when the affairs of the country were unsettled, and now that our lord has occupied the throne, and the whole business is reduced to a system, you can do the duty more easily and better?" Bu Suhal observed, for a long time there was no one to act under the king, but now that such an eminent personage as you are come, I and those like me have no courage and ability to do anything. How shall a mere atom prevail against the sun. We are all insignificant persons. The true master has appeared, and every hand is restrained. He said, very good, I will consider over it. He went home, and in two or three days about fifty or sixty messages were sent to him upon this business; but still he did not accept the offer. One day he came to see the Amir, and when the conversation began, the Amir directed him to sit down. He then dismissed the attendants and said, Khwaja, why don't you undertake this duty, you know you are to me as a father. I have many important matters before me, and it is not proper that you should deprive me of your ability. The Khwaja replied, I am your obedient servant, and next to the Almighty, I owe my life to your majesty. But I am become old and unfit for work. Besides, I have vowed and have taken a solemn oath, that I will never more engage in

business, for much trouble has come upon me. The Amir said, I will have thee absolved from thine oaths; you must not refuse me. He said, if there is no help, and I must accept the appointment, I will, if your majesty sees fit, sit in the courtroom, and if there is anything to ask about, I will send a message to you by a confidential person, and act according to your reply. The Amir said very good, but whom will you make your confidant. He replied, Bu Suhal Zauzani is concerned in the business, and perhaps it would be better if Bu Nasr Mishkan were also made a medium between us, for he is an honest man, and in days gone by he has been my confidential mouthpiece. The Amir said it was very proper. The Khwaja departed, and went to the Diwan's office, which they cleared out. I heard Bu Nasr Mishkan say that when he was about to leave, the Khwaja made him sit down, and told him not to depart, for it was now his duty to carry messages to the king's court. He said, the king will not leave me in retirement, although it is time for me to sue for forgiveness of the Almighty, and not to be acting as minister. Bu Nasr observed, may my lord live long ! the Amir thinks what he has proposed advisable, and it also seems good to his servants; but you, my lord, will fall into trouble, for there are many important matters which nothing but great foresight and enlightened wisdom can settle. The Khwaja observed, what you say is true, but I see that there are many ministers here; and I know that this is not concealed from you. Bu Nasr acknowledged that there were such persons, but that they were only fit to obey orders, and he then asked of what use he was in the business ? Bu Suhal was sufficient, and as he (Bu Nasr) had been much troubled by that person, he wished by some device to keep aloof from him. The Khwaja told him not to be afraid, for he had confidence in him. Bu Nasr bowed his acknowledgments. Bu Suhal now came and brought a message from our lord the Sultan, saying—In the time of my father the Khwaja endured great troubles and hardships, and he was treated with ignominy. It is very surprising that his life was spared, but he was left to adorn my reign. He must consent to serve me, because dignity like his is needed. He has numerous

followers and friends like himself, who will all work according to his instructions, so that business will be managed upon a regular system.

The Khwaja said, I have made a vow never to serve the Sultan; but as his majesty commands me and says that he will absolve me from my oath, I yield to his wishes. But there are duties attached to this office which if I try to carry out and obey my lord's orders, all the servants will rise with one accord against me and become my enemies. They will play the same tricks now as they did in the last reign. I shall thus throw myself into great difficulty. But now I have no enemy and live in peace. If I do not discharge the duties, but act dishonestly, I shall be charged with weakness, and I shall find no excuse either before the Almighty or my master. If there is no help for it, and I must perforce take the office, I must be fully informed of its duties, and I must be allowed and have authority to offer such advice and counsel as may be necessary.

We two (Bu Nasr and Bu Suhal) went to say this to the Amir, I asked Bu Suhal, as he was to be the intermedium, what work I should have to do ? He replied, the Khwaja has chosen you; perhaps he has no confidence in me. He was much displeased with my intervention. When I went into the presence I observed a respectful silence, for I wished Bu Suhal to speak. When he opened the business, the Amir turned towards me and wanted me to speak. Bu Suhal discreetly moved away, and I delivered all the messages. The Amir said I will entrust him (the Khwaja) with all the duties, excepting such as respect conviviality, wine-drinking, fighting, the game of chaugan and chankkabak. All other duties he must discharge, and no objection shall be urged against his sentiments and views. I returned and brought the answer. Bu Suhal had quitted his place, although I left everything to him. But what could I do, the Amir did not leave me alone, neither did the Khwaja. He (the Khwaja) said, I am obedient. I will think and write down some points which must be taken to-morrow to his majesty. May the Almighty increase his dignity ! Answers to them must be written under the king's own hand and attested by his seal. This business must be conducted

in the same manner as in the time of the late Amir ; and you know how it was managed in those days. Well, we went and spoke (as we had been desired). The Amir said, Bu Nasr ! Welcome ! To-morrow you must finish this business, that on the following day he may put on the robe (of office). We said we will tell him, and we were departing, when he called to me, Bu Nasr, and said—When the Khwaja returns do you come back for I have something to say to you. I said, I will do so ; and repaired to the Khwaja and related the whole to him. Bu Suhal went away and I and the Khwaja remained. I said, may my lord live long ! I said to Bu Suhal, as we were going along—This is the first time that we have carried a message together, and since you have the management what am I to do ? He replied, the Khwaja has selected you because he, perhaps, has no confidence in me. The Khwaja said—I chose you because I wished to have a Musulman in the business, who would not tell a lie or pervert words, and who would, moreover, know what ought to be done. This sorry cuckold and others think that if I take this office, they will really perform the duties of minister. The first thing to do is to overload him so with business that all life and spirit shall be taken out of him, and that he withdraw from ministerial duties. The others will then do the same. I know he will not be content, and will withdraw reluctantly. The king has given many low fellows access to his throne, and has made them presumptuous. I will do what I think right in the way of counsel and kindness, and we shall see what will come to pass. He went back, and I repaired to the Amir, who asked me what the Khwaja would write, I replied,—the rule has been that when the post of Wazir is conferred on a person of distinction, he writes his terms<sup>1</sup> and enquiries about the responsibilities of his position. The sovereign then writes with his own hand an answer and attests it with his seal. After this, God is called to witness it. The Wazir then examines it, and it becomes a solemn compact with stringent provisions, which the minister must repeat with his tongue and attest with his signature, adding thereto witnesses to his promise of acting in conformity therewith.

<sup>1</sup> [muwaza'at.]

The Amir directed that a draft of the reply to his proposals should be drawn up, and that a copy of the oath also should be prepared so that the business might be concluded on the morrow, and the minister might assume his robe of office, for business was at a standstill. I said, I will do so and returned. The papers were written out, and at the time of afternoon prayer, another private interview was granted. The Amir then apprized himself of their contents and approved them. Next day the Khwaja came (to the palace) and when the *levee* was over he came into the public court (*taram*), ordered it to be cleared, and then seated himself. Bu Suhal and Bu Nasr brought forward the conditions. The Amir called for ink and paper, wrote answers to each of them with his own hand, attested them with his seal and signature, and confirmed the whole by an oath written at the bottom. The paper was brought to the Khwaja and when he had read the answers, he stood up, kissed the ground, went to the throne and kissed the hand of the Amir, and then returned to his place and sat down. Bu Nasr and Bu Suhal placed the solemn oath before him. The Khwaja pronounced the words of it with his tongue and then affixed his signature to the paper. Bu Nasr and Bu Suhal were the witnesses. On the oath being taken, the Amir praised the Khwaja and congratulated him heartily. The Khwaja kissed the ground. On this he was ordered to retire, and next day to assume the robe of office, because all business was in arrear and many important matters had to be settled. The Khwaja said, I am your obedient servant, kissed the ground, and retired to his house taking the articles of agreement with him. The oath was deposited in the secretary's office (*dawat-khana*). I have inserted a copy of the oath and of the articles in another book which I have written, and called "Makamat-i Mahmudi." Not to be prolix, I have avoided to repeat them here. Every one knew that the post of Wazir was filled, and fear fell upon every heart, for it was no common person who had been appointed. Those from whom the Khwaja had received an injury were much alarmed.

Bu Suhal Zauzani began to boast in the most dreadful manner. He told the people that the office of Wazir had been offered to him, but he did not accept it, and that he had brought forward the Khwaja. Those who had any sense knew that it was not so. Sultan Mas'ud, may God approve him ! was too intelligent, wise, and well informed, to bestow the post of Wazir on any other person, so long as Khwaja Ahmad was alive, because he knew the rank and qualifications of every one, and what they were fit for. There is an evident proof of what I have said, when Khwaja Ahmad had gone to Hirat, the Amir passing his various officers in review (*in Kaumra mi-did*) remembered Khwaja Ahmad 'Abdul Samad, and said—There is none fitter than he for this office. When I arrive at the proper period in my history, I will give a full account of this incident. I have not said this because I received injuries from Bu Suhal, for he and all these people are dead, and it is clear also that I have but a little time to live. But I speak the truth. I know that wise and experienced men who now read this will find no fault with me for what I have written. What I have mentioned in this matter is correct, and I can answer for it. May God, whose name is glorious, keep me and all Muhammadans from fault and error, through his grace and wisdom, power and mercy.

The following day, which was Sunday, the 9th of the month of Safar, the Khwaja entered the court. The great men and the elders, the generals and the other military officers, all waited upon him, and observed the ceremonials of respect. The Amir turned his face towards the Khwaja, and said, you must now put on the robe of office, because we have many important things to attend to. He then said, let it be known that the Khwaja is my representative (*khalifa*) in all matters requiring consideration. His orders and directions must be executed and observed in all things. Whatever he deems proper, no one must oppose. The Khwaja kissed the ground, and professed his allegiance.

The Amir made a signal to Hajib Bilkatigin, who was chief of the guards, to take the Khwaja to the state wardrobe. He came forward and took the Khwaja by the arm. The Khwaja stood up and went to the place, and

remained there till about 12 o'clock, because the astrologer had fixed on that time as auspicious for his putting on the dress. All the chief men and military officers attended the court; some sitting and others standing. The Khwaja then invested himself with his official robes. I stood and saw what passed. What I say is from ocular observation, and according to the list I possess. There was a garment of scarlet cloth of Baghdad, embroidered with small flowers; a long turban of the finest muslin, with a delicate lace border; a large chain, and a girdle of one thousand miskals, studded with turquoises. Hajib Bilkatigin was sitting at the door of the wardrobe, and when the Khwaja came out, he stood up and offered his congratulations, and presented one dinar, one small turban, and two very large turquoises, set in a ring. He wished to walk before him (in procession), but the Khwaja said, upon the life and head of the Sultan, you must walk by my side; tell the other guards to go before. Bilkatigin answered, O great Khwaja, say not so, because you know my friendship, and besides, you are now dressed in the robe of my lord the Sultan, to which we, his slaves, must show respect. So he walked before the Khwaja and two other men of the guards with him, beside many officers. A slave of the Khwaja was also appointed a guard, and a coloured vestment was given to him, because it was not customary in the army for the guards of Khwajas to go before them. When he reached the palace, other guards came to receive him, and they conducted him to the Amir, and there seated him. The Amir offered his congratulations to the Khwaja, who stood up, kissed the ground, approached the throne, and presented a bunch of pearls to the king, which was said to be valued at ten thousand dinars. The Amir Mas'ud gave to the Khwaja a ring set with a turquoise, on which his majesty's name was engraved, and said, this is the seal of state, and I give it to you that people may know that the Khwaja's authority is next to mine. The Khwaja took the ring, kissed the Amir's hand and the ground, and returned to his house. He was attended by such an escort as nobody recollects to have seen before, so that, except the musicians (who play at fixed times every day), nobody remained at the royal

palace. He alighted at the gate of 'Abdu-l 'Ala, and went into his house. The great men and ministers of the state began to pour in. So many slaves, presents and clothes were brought, that the like of them no minister had ever received. Some brought them with pleasure and others from fear. A list of all the things brought was kept, so that all might be taken to the king. He did not keep back even a thread for himself. Such things were learnt from him, for he was the most honest and the greatest man of the age. He sat till the time of mid-day prayer, and only left his place for that duty. The whole day he spent busily among the people. On the following day he went to court, but had not the robe on him. He had got a garment made after the old fashion, and a turban of Naishapur or Kain, and in these people always saw this great man dressed. May God approve him ! I have heard from his companions, such as Bu Ibrahim Kaini, that he had his reception dress and twenty or thirty other garments all made of the same colour, and these he used to wear for a year, so that people thought that he had only one dress, and used to express their surprise that the garment did not wear or fade. There were no bounds to his manliness, industry and magnanimity. I shall make some mention of them hereafter in their appropriate place. When the year had passed, he had twenty or thirty more garments made, and put them in the wardrobe.

This day, when he came to see the king, the court broke up, and Sultan Mas'ud held a private conference with the minister, which lasted till the time of mid-day prayer. There were many who withered with fear, and a muttering arose as of a drum beaten under a blanket. Afterwards he (the Khwaja) came out and kept silence. Neither I nor any one else could know aught of what had passed in the council, still some of the effects became manifest. One party had offices and robes bestowed upon them, others were dismissed, and their robes were torn off; these and other transactions were perceived by intelligent men to be the

results of that private conference.<sup>1</sup> When the drum was beat at the time of noon-day prayer, the Khwaja came out. His horse was sent for and he returned home. All day long, until evening, those persons who had been alarmed, came and made presents to him.

Bu Muhammad Kaini, who was his old private secretary, and in the days of his misfortune had, by the Amir Mahmud's order, served under Khwaja Abu-l Kasim and afterwards under Diwan Hasnak in the same capacity, and secretary Ibrahim Baihaki, who attended the minister's office; these two persons were called by the Khwaja who said to them—"Secretaries must need be attentive to orders. I place my confidence in you. To-morrow you must attend the office and engage in writing; bring also with you scholars and assistants." They said we are obedient. Bu Nasr, of Bust, a clerk, who is still alive, was an intelligent and good man and a fine caligrapher. He had rendered many services to the Khwaja in Hindustan, and had been warmly devoted to him when he was in need. When the Khwaja got over his troubles, he (Bu Nasr) came with him to Balkh, and the Khwaja now patronised him, and bestowed a high office on him. His distress vanished, and he obtained an ample competence. Bu Muhammad and Ibrahim are departed. May God forgive them ! Bu Nasr is yet alive at Ghazni, and in honour in the service of this family. In the time when Khwaja 'Abdu-r Razzak was minister, he was controller (*hajib*) of the secretary's office. He patronised Bu 'Abdu-lla Parsi, who also served under the Khwaja. This Bu 'Abdu-lla in the time of the ministry of the Khwaja,

<sup>1</sup> [The original translation of this passage, made by a *munshi*, and revised by an Englishman, ran as follows: It is by no means an unfair-specimen of many of the translations, and it is inserted to show the quality of much of the assistance received by Sir H. Elliot. Another passage is given elsewhere. "Some of the councillors quarrelled among themselves. There was a drum which was beat under a blanket, and a noise issued from it. The councillors and others like me became acquainted with what had happened in that council. But as some signs of the feud were becoming public, offices were conferred on one party and robes of honour granted while another party was expelled and degraded, and affairs became smooth. The wise men knew that all this was the result of one council."]

was chief of the royal messengers at Balkh, and lived in great splendour, but he had endured great hardships during the Khwaja's adversity. At his removal from office, Amirak Baihaki hastened from Ghazni, as I have before mentioned, and they took immense riches from him.

The next day, which was Tuesday, the Khwaja attended the court and visited the Amir, and then came to his office. A fine cloth of brocade set with turquoises had been spread near his seat for him to kneel on. He went through two forms of prayer, and then sitting down, but not in his official seat, he asked for an inkstand. It was brought to him with a quire of paper, and a box of sand, such as are used by ministers. These he took and there sat and wrote a thanksgiving in Arabic.<sup>1</sup>

He then ordered the complainants and suitors to be called. Several were brought before him. He heard their statements, dispensed justice, and sent them away happy. He said—This is the minister's court; its gates are open, there is no hindrance, whoever has business may come in. People heartily prayed for him and were inspired with hope. The military and civil officers came in with strict decorum and sat down, some on his right hand, some on his left. He turned, looked at them and said—To-morrow come so prepared that you may be able to give a ready answer to whatsoever I may ask you, make no reservation. Up to this time business has been carried on very improperly. Every one has been occupied with his own concerns, and the king's business has been neglected. Ahmad Hasan knows you well, and will not allow things to go on as heretofore. You must now put on a new appearance, every one must attend to his duty. No one dared to speak, all were alarmed, and cowered. The Khwaja arose and went home; all that day also presents were brought till nightfall. At the time of afternoon prayer he asked for the lists and examined them. Those things which the treasurers of the Sultan and accountants of the court had written down were all brought one by one before the Amir. There were numberless articles of gold, silver, entire pieces of cloth, Turkish slaves of

<sup>1</sup> [Given at full length in the text.]

high price, valuable horses and camels, and everything most suitable for royal pomp and splendour. The king was highly pleased. He said, the Khwaja is empty-handed, why did he not take them? So he ordered ten thousand dinars, five hundred thousand dirhams, ten Turkish slaves of great price, five horses from the royal stable, and ten 'Abdus camels to be taken to him. When the camels brought these presents before the Khwaja, he rose up, kissed the ground, and gave many blessings. The camels then returned.

The next day, which was Wednesday, 7th of Safar, the Khwaja attended the court. The Amir was very severe,<sup>1</sup> and the day passed in great pomp and splendour. When the court broke up, the Khwaja came to his office, engaged in business, and arranged matters to the best of his judgment. At breakfast time (*chash-t-gah*) he called Bu Nasr Mishkan, and when he came he (the Khwaja) gave him a secret message to be delivered to the Amir that, as he had before stated, the business of reporting matters was not properly conducted, adding that Bu Suhal Zauzani was an honourable and respectable man, and that if his majesty thought proper, he might be summoned and the robe of the appointment conferred on him, in order that he might conduct this most important of all duties. The Khwaja himself was rendering all the guidance and assistance possible, in order that discipline might be preserved in the army.

Bu Nasr went and delivered the message. The Amir made a signal to Bu Suhal, who was sitting in the court with other courtiers. He went forward, and his majesty spoke one or two words to him. Bu Suhal bowed and retired. He was conducted to the wardrobe by two guards, one of whom served outside, and the other inside the palace. A rich khil'at was bestowed on him, and a girdle with seven hundred pieces of gold, which had all been prepared overnight. He came back and paid his respects to the Amir, who offered him his congratulations, and ordered him to go to the Khwaja, under whose directions he was to act; he also desired him to give special attention to the important

<sup>1</sup> [Amir mazālim kard.]

matter of military administration. Bu Suhal expressed his obedience, kissed the ground, and retired. He came directly into the Khwaja's office. The Khwaja made him sit by his side, and spoke very kindly to him. He then went home. All the great men, elders, and servants, went to his house and paid him great respect, and presented him with many valuables. He also ordered that a list should be made of all that they had brought, and he sent it to the treasury.

The day afterwards a very rich robe was conferred on Bu Suhal Hamaduni, who had been removed from the post of Wazir, and appointed to the duty of controlling the financial affairs<sup>1</sup> of the kingdom. The four persons who had before discharged this duty, with all the other accountants of the court, were to act as his assistants. He came before the Amir and paid his respects. The Amir said—You are an old servant and a friend who has performed great deeds in favour of the State. You must now efficiently execute these (new) duties. He consented, and taking leave, he went into the office of the Khwaja, who made him sit on his left hand according to established custom, and spoke very kindly to him. Presents were also given to him, and what people brought he sent to the treasury. The whole business of administration was arranged, and the dignity of minister was such as nobody remembered to have seen before. The Amir had conferred great honour on the minister. The Khwaja began, even from the first, with vengeance and threats. He related the story of Khwaja Bu-l Kasim Kasir, who was removed from the office of paymaster ('ariz) as well as of Abu Bakr Hasiri and Bu-l Hasan 'Ukaili, who were courtiers, and who had formed a design which I have before mentioned in this history. Hasiri was a violent man, and in the time of the Amir Mahmud he quarrelled with the king at a drinking party, and twice received blows. Bu-l Kasim Kasir, had himself been minister, and Abu-l Hasan was his purchased slave. I will mention, hereafter, what happened to each of them.

On Sunday, the 11th of Safar, a very magnificent and costly robe was prepared for the great chamberlain (*hajib*),

<sup>1</sup> [shaghīl ishrāf.]

besides fine drums and flags, and flag-staffs, slaves, purses of dirhams, uncut pieces of cloth, according to the list of things which had been given to Hajib 'Ali Karib, at the gate of Gurgan.

When the court broke up the Amir ordered Hajib Bilkatigin to be conducted to the wardrobe, and a robe was put on him. The kettledrums were placed on camels, and banners were raised at the palace gate. The flags, purses of silver, and pieces of cloth were placed in the garden.

He came forward dressed in a black garment, with a two-horned cap and a golden girdle. Advancing he paid homage. The Amir spoke kindly to him, and he returned and came into the Khwaja's office. The Khwaja spoke very affably to him. He went home, and the grandees and chief men all paid him due respect. Thus he obtained distinction and honour. A man more liberal, open, and brave, was seldom seen. But levity was predominant in him, and his frivolity was very disagreeable. However, no man is without blemish. Perfection belongs only to God the great and glorious.

An extraordinary occurrence happened in these days to the lawyer Bu Bakr Hasiri. A fault was committed by him in a state of intoxication, through which the Khwaja got the upper hand of him, and revenged himself to his heart's content. Although the Amir, like a just sovereign, inquired about the case, the man had disgraced himself. I must perforce give an account of this matter for the information of my readers. The destiny of God, great and glorious, is unavoidable. It so happened that Hasiri, with his son Bu-l Kasim, had gone to the garden of Khwaja 'Ali Mikail, which was near, and had drunk to excess. They passed the night there and the next morning they again drank, and it is bad to drink in the morning. Wise men seldom do this. They drank till half the interval between the times of the first and second prayers, and then mounting, and still continually drinking, they passed through the lane of 'Ubbad. As they approached the 'Ashikan Bazar, the father, who was riding a camel and had a cavalcade of thirty horse and an escort of thirty slaves, by

chance met with a servant of the Khwaja, who was also riding. The road was narrow, and there was a crowd of people. Hasiri, as drunkards will, got a whim into his head, because the servant did not dismount and pay his respects. He grossly abused the man, who said, O king ! why do you abuse me ? I have a master who is greater than you, and the like of you. That lord is the great Khwaja. Hasiri began to abuse the Khwaja, and said, Seize this dog. Who is there so bold as to listen to his complaint ? He then used stronger language against the Khwaja. The slaves of Hasiri flew upon the man, beat him severely on the back, and tore his garment. Bu-l Kasim, his (Hasiri's) son, called out loud to the slaves, because he was discreet, far-seeing, and intelligent. (He has passed through life so happily that he has performed the pilgrimage to Mecca, and has retired from service, devoting himself in seclusion to worship and virtuous acts. May this great man and worthy friend long survive !) He (Bu-l Kasim) made many apologies to the man, and besought him not to tell the occurrence to his master, lest next day he should demand an apology. For the garment that had been torn three should be given in return. (After this) they all went away. The man arose, but did not find himself capable of forbearance, because menial servants are accustomed to carry such matters too far, and do not consider the result.

This event took place on Thursday, the 15th of Safar. He went running to Khwaja Ahmad and repeated the matter, making it ten or fifteen times worse to him. He displayed his bruised head and face, and showed the garment which was torn. The Khwaja had eagerly wished for such a chance, and was seeking for a pretext against Hasiri, by which he might crush him, so he deemed this a fitting opportunity. For the Amir was in every way inclined towards him, and as he had given the minister's robe to him yesterday, he would not to-day give it to Hasiri. He had found dirt and he knew how to wallow in it.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *wa chīn khāk yāft marāgha dānast kard.*

Next day the Amir was about to go out hunting in the direction of the "Manjuran";<sup>1</sup> and the tents, cooking utensils, wines, and other necessaries, were all taken out. Next day the Khwaja sat down and wrote a petition under his own hand and seal, and sent it to Bilkatigin with a message directing him, if the king asked him why Ahmad did not come, to hand the petition to him; or even if he did not enquire, the letter was still to be delivered to him, for it was important and ought not to be delayed. Bilkatigin promised to obey, as there was great friendship between them. The Amir did not hold a court, for he wished to go out riding, and the insignia and the umbrella had been brought out, and many slaves were ready mounted. The call was raised for the female elephant with the canopy, and the Amir mounted and sat in the howda. The Amir's elephant was driven on and all the servants were standing to pay their respects. But when his majesty came to the court gate, and did not see Khwaja Ahmad, he said, The Khwaja is not come. Bu Nasr Mishkan replied, This is Friday, and he knows that your majesty intends to go hunting, for this reason probably he has not come. Bilkatigin then presented the paper, saying that it had been sent the previous night, with an intimation that whether his majesty asked for him or not this was to be submitted. The elephant was stopped and the Amir took the paper and read it. It was thus written—"May my lord's life be prolonged! Your slave protested that he was not fit to be minister, and begged to be excused. Every one has got some vain thoughts in his mind; and in his old age, your slave has not vigour enough to contend against hardship and struggle with mankind, making the world his enemy. But as your majesty by your royal words inspired him with great hopes and agreed to conditions worthy of a prince, he, next to the grace of Almighty God, received a new life from your majesty and felt compelled to submit himself to the Imperial orders. Ten days have not yet passed, but Hasiri has disgraced your faithful servant. Hasiri was coming in a litter from the garden, after draining the cup to the dregs, and in the Sa'idi Bazar, not in a

<sup>1</sup> *bar jānib mikhwārān.*

solitary place, but in the presence of many men, he ordered his slaves to beat one of my trustworthy servants. They sorely beat him and tore his garment to pieces. When the man said he was my servant, Hasiri uttered a hundred thousand opprobrious names against me before the crowd. Your servant can on no account come to court and conduct the ministerial duties, because it is hard to endure the insults of such people. If your majesty sees fit to be merciful to him, then let him abide in some building or fort which your high wisdom may point out. But if he is not excused, then let him receive due chastisement, so that he may suffer both in property and person. He now aspires too high. His immense riches raise him and his son above themselves. Your servant will pay for the father and the son three hundred thousand dinars into the treasury, and this letter, in the handwriting of your slave, shall stand as a bond. Peace be to you!"

When the Amir had read the letter, he wrote on it, and giving it to one of his personal attendants who carried the inkstand, he ordered him to take care of it. The elephant then moved on. Every one said, Let us see what will happen. In the open country he ordered the Commander-in-Chief of the army, and Ariyaruk general of Hindustan, and all the soldiers to return, for they were not allowed to accompany the royal hunt. He was followed only by some of his personal attendants. Then he called the high chamberlain, Bilkatigin, and spoke a few words to him in the Turkish language. The chamberlain retired and the Amir called for Bu Nasr Mishkan. A messenger hastened to him in the minister's office and told him that his majesty was calling for him. He mounted and hastened to the Amir. He went on a little way with the Amir, and a few words passed; the Amir then sent him back. He did not return to the office, but went to the house of the great Khwaja Ahmad, and sent Bu Mansur, the keeper of the minister's offices, with orders for the secretaries to return. We did so. I followed the steps of my tutor (*ustad*) to the house of Khwaja, where I saw such a mob of spectators that no estimate of them could be made. I asked one person what the matter was? He

replied, the Khalifa (governor) in armour and boots<sup>1</sup> has brought Hasiri and his son to the Khwaja's house, and has set them up there and chastised them. Nobody knows what is the matter. And a large force is come on duty, and horsemen are posted, for this is Friday, and nobody is allowed to enter except Khwaja Bu Nasr Mishkan, who came and went in. I, Bu-l Fazl, was confounded when I heard this, because I had been much benefited by that nobleman and his son. I dismounted and went into the courtyard where I remained till near breakfast time (*chasht-gah*). Now, an inkstand and some paper were brought, and I heard 'Abdu-llah Parsi loudly proclaim that the great Khwaja says "though the Sultan had sentenced you and your son to receive one thousand blows each, yet I compassionate you and remit the strokes, but you must pay five hundred thousand dinars and purchase the stick, otherwise the sentence will be enforced. Beware, lest you receive the blows and have to pay the money also." The father and the son said, we are ready to obey whatever order is given, but we beg that some reduction be made because it is known that we cannot afford to pay even the tenth part of it. Abu 'Abdu-llah went and returned several times, until three hundred thousand dinars were agreed to be paid, and a bond for that amount was given. An order was then issued that they were to be kept in custody. The Khalifa. (governor) of the town put them both under guard and detained them. The people then retired. Bu Nasr, my *ustad*, remained there to take wine, and I returned to my home. After an hour Sankui Wakil came to me and said that Khwaja Bu Nasr had sent him with a message that I, Bu-l Fazl, was to go to the Sultan and report that he (Bu Nasr) had according to the royal orders gone to the Khwaja, and agreeably to his instructions had poured water upon fire, so that Hasiri and his son had not been flogged. A bond for three hundred thousand dinars had been taken from them and they were kept in custody. The great Khwaja was greatly delighted at the order which your majesty gave, and with the new favour bestowed upon him, and he had therefore detained

<sup>1</sup> *bā juba wa mūza.*

him (Bu Nasr) to drink wine. It would have been churlish to refuse the favour, and this was the cause why he had not come himself. He had sent Abu-l Fazl in order that he might not be charged with disrespect and conceit.

I (Abu-l Fazl) instantly went, and found the Amir at the outskirts of the city, in a garden, engaged in conviviality and drinking. His companions were sitting round, and the musicians were playing. I said to myself, if I cannot gain access to speak to him, I must send him the message in writing, that it may come to his notice. I wrote down an explicit statement and went forward. The Amir asked loudly what it was ? I replied, your slave Bu Nasr has sent a message, and I showed him the petition. He ordered his ink-bearer to take it, which he did and gave it to the Amir who, having read it, called me before the throne and returning the letter to me, and speaking aside, said "Go back to Bu Nasr and tell him that all has gone on well, and that I am much pleased with what he has done. To-morrow I will take such further steps as may be necessary—tell him also it is good that he has not come himself, and that he stayed to be entertained by the Khwaja."

I returned and reached the city at the time of the afternoon prayer. I called Sankui, and wrote the message on a paper, thus completing my commission. Sankui took it and gave it to my *ustad*. He read it and became acquainted with its contents. He remained with the Khwaja till the time of the night prayer, and returned home very drunk. The next evening he called me and I went. He was sitting alone, and he asked me what I had done. I related all that had passed, and he said it was all well, and added, the Khwaja is about his work. He will exact a fine revenge, and will devour up these people. But the king is a kind protector and a lover of justice. Yesterday, as he read the letter of the minister, he was obliged to control himself by saying that it was not right to give him that post and then within a week to overlook such contemptuous treatment of him. So the king determined to inflict punishment, and ordered the chief chamberlain (*hajib*) to go to the palace and direct the governor to take Hasiri and his son to the Khwaja's house.

"Let him also," said he, "take the executioner and whips, and let one thousand stripes be inflicted on each of these persons, so that henceforth nobody may dare to mention the Khwaja's name except with respect." Although he gave such an order, and Hasiri had committed a very great fault, yet he did not wish that he should all at once lose his character and station. A man soon came to me (Bu Nasr) and called me. When I went to the Sultan he said to me openly, "You did not want to come with me to the feast." I answered, "It is the good fortune of your slave to be always before his master. But your majesty had ordered me to write some important letters to Re and other places in that direction, and told me not to come, but to send a secretary at once to him." He smiled, and was very gracious in all respects. He said, "I remember, but I only joked." "There are some other points," continued he, "which must be inserted in those letters, and I did not wish to send them to you as a message, but to tell them myself to you." He then ordered the elephant to be stopped. The driver and his assistant descended from the neck of the animal. The personal attendant of the Sultan left the howda, and all people kept aloof; I stood before him. First he told me the subject of the Khwaja's letter, and then said "the chamberlain was good to pacify the mind of the Khwaja. I have ordered suitable punishment for the fault which Hasiri committed, with the view of giving satisfaction to the Khwaja. But of all the courtiers of my father, Hasiri has the greatest claims upon me, and in his attachment to me he has suffered much hardship. At all events I will not give such power to the Khwaja as that he may crush such servants for his own revenge. I have told you my views, and you must keep secret what I have said. Observe these words, and either by using my order or by your own contrivance, provide that neither he nor his son be hurt. I have directed the chamberlain, in the Turkish language, to frighten them, but to procrastinate. You must step in and extinguish the fire." I said, "I quite understand that you have done what was proper in the matter," and I quickly returned. What was the case you have seen. I told the chamberlain to defer executing the royal order till I could see the great Khwaja. I said

to Hasiri, "Shame on you; you are an old man, and yet for a single thing you have brought this disgrace upon yourself, and have troubled the hearts of your friends." He answered, "This is no time for reproach; destiny has done its work; you should rather think of some remedy." I was called back, and immediately admitted into the court. On the road I saw Abu-l Fath of Bust dressed in an old garment, and having a small water bottle hanging from his neck. He stopped me on the road, and said "it is about twenty days since I have been set to carry water to the stable—please to exert your interest for me. I know the great Khwaja is much pleased (with you) and nothing can be done without your recommendation." I told him I was going on some very important business, and when it was finished I would exert myself for him, and hoped that he would be successful. Upon reaching the Khwaja I found him in great indignation and wrath. I paid my respects, and he eagerly spoke to me and said he was told that I had been with the Amir, and asked why I had returned. I answered that "he sent me back to attend to the Re business, which was no secret to him (the Khwaja). But these letters must be written to-morrow, because at present nothing can be done. I have come to take a little wine with you on the occasion of this new favour which has been shown to you by the Sultan in the matter of Hasiri." He said, "You have done quite right, and I am much obliged. But nevertheless I do not want you to intercede for him and be disappointed, because I will not relent on any account. These rascals<sup>1</sup> have entirely forgotten Ahmad Hasan, and have had the field empty for a while; they have made the great hand of the minister powerless, and have degraded him; but let them now look to the breadth of their blanket and awake from slumber." He then turned towards 'Abdu-llah Parsi, and asked if the stripes had been inflicted. I said, "They will inflict them and execute the great lord's command, but I requested the chief chamberlain (*hajib*) to stop a little, till I had seen you." He said, "You have seen me, but I will not listen

<sup>1</sup> *Kashkhānān*, "willing cuckolds," apparently a favourite term of abuse of the Khwajas.

to your intercession—they must inevitably be beaten that their eyes may be opened. Go 'Abdu-llah and give orders to beat them both (Hasiri and his son)." I said, "If there is no alternative let me speak a few words to you in private, and meanwhile let their punishment be delayed—after that let your commands be executed." He called 'Abdu-llah back, and then had the room cleared, so that we were alone together. I said, "May my lord's life be prolonged; it is wrong to push matters to extremes in any thing. Great men have said 'Mercy attends His power,' and mercy is considered most worthy, even when we have power to take revenge. The Almighty God has shown you His might and also His mercy. He has delivered you from suffering and imprisonment. It is, therefore, right to do good to them who have done ill to us, so that shame and remorse may come upon them. The story of Maman and Ibrahim is well known to you. It is foolish for me to speak of such a thing to you. It is like carrying dates to Basra. The king has bestowed on you this distinction, and is mindful of your feelings and position; he has sent this old man here, and has sentenced him to such punishment; but you must know how much it must have afflicted him, because he esteems the man his friend in consequence of the hardships suffered on his account at the hands of the late king, his father. He firmly believes that the Khwaja also will act like nobles and great men, and not torture him. It seems much preferable to your humble servant that you should consider the feelings of the Sultan, and direct these men to be detained and not to be beaten. You can take from him and his son an agreement for paying (money) into the public treasury, and then inform the Sultan of it, and see what he directs. I think most probably he will forgive him. And if the Khwaja recommend the measure it will be still better, because the obligation will be all from his part. The Lord knows I have no interest in these matters. I only desire that peace may be preserved on both sides. I have spoken to the best of my judgment. It is for you to order, for you know best what is the result of such matters."

When the Khwaja heard those words from me, he hung his head down and remained thoughtful for a while. He knew that there was reason in what I had said, for he was not a man of that kind from whom such things could be concealed. He said, "I remit the beating for your sake; but whatever wealth the father and son possess they must give to the Sultan." I bowed, and he sent 'Abdu-llah Parsi to settle the matter. A bond of three hundred thousand dinars was taken under the hand of Hasiri, and father and son were taken to the guard.

After this the Khwaja called for bread and wine and singers and we began our banquet. When I had drunk some cups of wine, I exclaimed, "May the Khwaja live long! This day is propitious, I have another request to make." He said, "Tell me and you shall find a ready compliance." I said, "I saw Abu-l Fath carrying a leather water-bag, but he is a shocking bad stable-man; although he deserves punishment, still he has many and strong claims for services rendered. The Sultan knows him, and acts upon the principles of Amir Mahmud. If he sees him he will pardon him also." He said, "Very good; do so, let him be called." So he was brought, and he came forward dressed in the same threadbare garment. He kissed the ground and arose. The Khwaja asked him, "Do you repent speaking indecently?" He replied, "O lord! the water-bag and the stable have forced me to repent." The Khwaja laughed and ordered him to be conducted to the warm bath and newly clad. When he came back he kissed the ground again; he was told to sit down, and dinner was ordered to be brought for him, of which he partook. After this, he was asked to take some wine, and was comforted and sent home. This being done, we drank deeply, and I then returned. "O Bu-l Fazl! (continued Bu Nasr) this Ahmad is a great noble, but he is fond of revenge; and I am in great distress about the course he has taken, for it is impossible that it should be approved. The Sultan will not allow him to swallow up his servants. I do not know what will be the end of these proceedings. Keep these words secret: go back and do your work, for you have to go to the Amir."

I came back and prepared to go. Then I went to him again and he gave me a sealed letter, which I took and set out for the hunting-place. I reached there about the time of evening prayer. I found that the Sultan had been drinking all day, and had now gone to his private tent. I took the letter to Aghachi, the king's attendant, and having given it to him, I went and stood by the curtain at the entrance of the tent. In the morning a *Farrash* having come to call me, I went, and Aghachi took me before the Amir, who was sitting in a sedan in his royal tent. I saluted him. He said, "tell Bu Nasr that what he has done in behalf of Hasiri was quite right. But I am coming to the city directly and I will do what is necessary." He threw the letter to me, and I took it up and returned. The Amir said the morning prayer and set out towards the city. I arrived sooner, and I saw near the city, my *ustad* and the great Khwaja standing with all the officers and ministers of the court to receive the Sultan. Bu Nasr saw me, but said nothing; I kept in my place. The insignia and the umbrella of the Sultan advanced. The Amir was on horseback; the people went forward. My *ustad* came to me and made a signal, so I approached him. He covertly asked me what I had done and what had passed. I told him all, and he said "I understand." The Amir then arrived, and all mounted and marched on. The Khwaja was on the right of the Amir and Bu Nasr just before his majesty; the other officers and grandees were in front, so that there should be no crowding. The Amir kept conversing with the Khwaja till they approached the garden. The Amir asked what was to be done in respect of that reckless man. The Khwaja said, "Let his majesty deign to alight and then what has passed and what is proper to be done his humble servant will report through Bu Nasr." He said, "Very good," and moved on. The Amir went to the Khizra,<sup>1</sup> and the Khwaja sat down on the ministerial bench; he called my *ustad* and gave him this message, "My lord, in his magnanimous pleasure, has secured what he considered due to me in this case of Hasiri, and I shall be under obligation to him for

<sup>1</sup> (*khizrl.*)

this favour as long as I live. Although Hasiri is a vain, boasting fellow, yet he is an old man, and has claims for his long service. He has always been a dutiful and faithful friend, and because of his loyalty he has, like myself, endured many hardships. His son is wiser and more prudent than himself, and is fit for any duty. Two proper men like these will not soon be found again, and now my lord stands in need of many able servants. How then can I allow two such devoted followers to be overthrown ? My object was only this, that all men, great and small, might know how far his majesty was favourably disposed towards me. I have succeeded in that object, and all men have learned that they must keep within their respective bounds. I was fully aware that they ought not to be beaten. But I sent them to be confined so that they may awake a little. They have given a bond of their own free will, promising to pay three hundred thousand dinars into the royal treasury, but they cannot pay this without being reduced to beggary, and a servant should not be destitute. If his majesty pleases, my recommendation in their behalf should not be rejected. Let them be excused from paying the money, and send them both home honourably."

Bu Nasr went and delivered this noble message. The Amir was highly pleased, and answered, "I accept the Khwaja's plea for them. The matter is entirely in his hands. If he thinks proper let him dismiss them, and give back the bond." Bu Nasr returned and informed the Khwaja of this. The Amir left the public hall and went into his palace. The Khwaja also returned to his house. He ordered two of his own horses to be taken to the gate of the prison. The father and the son were both mounted on them, and conducted respectfully to the Khwaja. When they came before him they kissed the ground and sat down. The Khwaja for a little while admonished Hasiri in firm but kind words, till he made his apologies ; it was a good thing that he was old. The Khwaja treated him kindly, took him in his arms, and made apologies and comforted him. He also kissed his face, and told him to go in the same dress to his house. He said, I do not like to change

your clothes, for to-morrow the Sultan will grant you Khil'ats. Hasiri kissed the Khwaja's hand and the ground. His son did the same. They then returned home riding on the Khwaja's horses. In their passage both father and son were greeted by the people with loud acclamations and congratulations. I, Bu-l Fazl, was their neighbour. I hastened to go to them sooner than the other visitors. Hasiri privately told me that as long as he lived he should not be able to make a return of Khwaja Bu Nasr's kindness, but that he would thank him and pray for him. I, however, did not speak a word to him about what had passed, lest he should be ashamed, but I gave him my blessing and retired. I told my *ustad* what had happened, and he mounted to go and congratulate him. I also accompanied him. Hasiri with his son came forward to receive him. They sat down, and both expressed their thanks. Bu Nasr said, "My efforts in the matter are well known to you, but you must thank the Sultan and the Khwaja." He said this and took his leave.

One or two weeks after I heard Bu Nasr say that the Amir, while drinking wine in a private party, spoke to Hasiri about what had passed. That day Hasiri was dressed in a yellow coat, and his son in a *Pandari* coat, very magnificent and highly ornamented. Next day they were again brought before the Sultan, and he showed them attention. The Khwaja requested that they might be taken to the wardrobe, when, according to the king's order, a dress was bestowed on each. They came from thence to the Khwaja, and then with great honour they were both conducted from the Khwaja's presence to their house. The citizens showed them due honour.

They are all now gone except his (Hasiri's) son Abu-l Kasim, who still survives. May the mercy of God be upon them all. Every one who reads this passage must examine it with intelligence, and draw lessons from it, and not consider it a mere story. They will thus learn what great men there were in days gone by.

I have read in the chronicles of the Khalifs, of the reign of Mu'tasim, a story very similar to this which I have just related, only much more terrible. I deemed it the more

necessary to record this, that my book of the notabilities of the day might with such matters be made more acceptable. Words blossom into words, that the pleasures of readers may be enhanced, and that reading may increase.

### *Execution<sup>1</sup> of Amir Hasnak, the Minister<sup>2</sup>*

I intend to write a chapter on this subject, and it thus begins : I begin to write this narrative to-day, in the month of Zi-l Hijja, A.H. 450 (January 1059 A.D.), in the prosperous reign of the great Sultan, Abu-l Shuja' Farrukh-zad bin Nasir-i din : May the Almighty God ever preserve him. Of the people (*kaum*) of whom I am now about to speak, only one or two individuals survive in obscure circumstances. It is some years since Khwaja Bu Suhal Zauzani passed away, and was placed in prison for the answer which he gave.<sup>3</sup> But we have nothing to do with that business, although I was ill-treated by him in every way. I have now arrived at the age of sixty-five, and I must act as becomes my years. In the history which I am writing I will allow no partiality or prejudice to mingle, so that the readers of my work should say, Shame on this old man; but I will speak so that they may agree with me on the subject, and censure me not.<sup>4</sup>

This Bu Suhal was the son of an Imam, and a powerful, clever, and accomplished man; but malignity (*shararat*) and ill-temper were predominant in his nature. "And there is no changing what God has made." On account of his malignity he had no friend. He was always on the alert, and if the great and glorious king was angry with a servant, and directed him to be beaten or bastinadoed,

<sup>1</sup> [Bardar-kardan, "lifting up" by hanging, impalement or crucifixion.]

<sup>2</sup> [Pages 207 to 221 of Text.]

<sup>3</sup> [wa bipāsukh anān kih az wai raft giraftār.]

<sup>4</sup> [Original translation]—"I have arrived at the age of sixty-five, and I should act as behoves me now. In the narration which I am now going to give, I shall mention a topic on which I may be prejudiced, and the readers of this compilation will say, 'Shame on this old man, nay, I fear they may censure and reproach me for it'."

this man would jump up from a corner, seize the opportunity, add to the beating, and aggravate the pain of the unhappy man. Then he would boast that he had paid out such a one. When he did (anything of this sort) he looked on and enjoyed it.<sup>1</sup> Wise men knew that he was not what he professed to be; they shook their heads and secretly laughed, and said he was not such a man. But he could not humble my *ustad*, notwithstanding all the arts he used against him. He was never successful against him, because the destiny of God did not accord with his schemes. Besides, Bu Nasr had been a man of great discretion during the reign of Amir Mahmud, and he had never acted dishonestly towards his master, but he was careful to please the Sultan Mas'ud in all things, because he knew that he would succeed his father on the throne. It was just the reverse with Hasnak, who was wholly devoted to Mahmud, and always obliged and pleased him, but often offended the prince; and did and said things which his equals would not endure; how then could a king? The same was the case with Ja'far Barmaki, whose family held the post of Wazir in the time of Harunu-r Rashid, and the result of their conduct was the same as befell this minister. Servants and officers should keep control over their tongues when speaking to their masters, because it is impossible for foxes to face lions.

Bu Suhal, in rank, wealth, and manliness, was like a mere drop by the side of Amir Hasnak, and in point of ability he held a very different rank. He was guilty of many tyrannical actions as I have before mentioned in this history, and the following is an instance. He said to 'Abdus, "Tell your lord that all that I do is in obedience to my master's order; if hereafter the throne devolves upon him he must cause Hasnak to be executed."

When the Sultan became king, Hasnak mounted the scaffold. But who was Bu Suhal, and the like of Bu Suhal that Hasnak should at last feel the effects of his malevolence and injustice. A king should never shut his eyes against three things, *viz.*, disturbances in the country,

<sup>1</sup> [wa agar kard did wa chasid.]

divulging of secrets, and opposition. God save us from wickedness !

When Hasnak was brought from Bust to Hirat, Bu Suhal Zauzani placed him in charge of his servant, 'Ali Raiz. Hasnak suffered all kinds of indignities, which could not be avenged, and for which no satisfaction could be made. On this account all people uttered reproaches against Bu Suhal, saying, A man does not strike one who is beaten and fallen; the man is he who acts according to the words—"Mercy accompanies power." The Almighty, whose name is glorious, says, "Those who restrain their anger, and who are merciful towards men; and God will reward the beneficent."

When Amir Mas'ud marched from Hirat towards Balkh, 'Ali Raiz carried Hasnak there as a prisoner, and treated him with great rigour and indignity; yet I privately heard from 'Ali's own lips that it would have been much worse for Hasnak if he ('Ali) had carried out a tenth part of what Bu Suhal had ordered, but much had been omitted. He (Bu Suhal) stopped in Balkh, and instigated the Amir to put Hasnak to death. The Amir was very gentle and generous, and he told this to his trusty 'Abdus,—One day after the death of Hasnak I heard from my *ustad* that the Amir told Bu Suhal he must have some reason and justification for destroying this man. Bu Suhal said, "What greater reason can there be than this,—that he is a Karmatian, and that he received a khil'at from the Egyptians, which displeased Kadir Bi-llah, the commander of the faithful, and induced him to reject the letter of Amir Mahmud. He still speaks continually about this. Your majesty must remember that at Naishapur an ambassador came from the Khalif and brought a flag and a khi'lät. But what was the mandate about this matter? The injunctions of the Khalif in this behalf must be observed." The Amir said, "I will not hesitate in this case." After this, 'Abdus who was much against Bu Suhal, told my tutor that when Bu Suhal importuned him much in the matter, the Amir one day desired Khwaja Ahmad Hasan, as he was departing from the palace, to remain alone in his court because he had a message to send him

through 'Abdus. The Khwaja obeyed, and the Amir called 'Abdus and said, "Tell Khwaja Ahmad that he knows the history of Hasnak, how in the time of the late king, my father, he (Hasnak) had given me several causes of offence, and when the Sultan departed this life, what great efforts he made in behalf of my brother. Still he did not go to him. As the Almighty has given me the throne and country with such ease, it is right that I should accept the excuses of the guilty and not trouble myself with the past. But with respect to this man they say that he received a robe from the Egyptians to the annoyance of the Khalif, the commander of the faithful, who was displeased and tore the letter of my father. It is also said that the ambassador who came to Naishapur bringing a letter, a flag and robe, was charged with the message that Hasnak was a Karmatian, and should be put to death. I heard this in Naishapur, but do not remember well. What does the Khwaja think and say about this matter?" When this message was delivered the Khwaja reflected for a long time and then asked, "What has been done to Bu Suhal Zauzani by Hasnak, that he makes such efforts to shed his blood." I ('Abdus) replied, "I do not know well, but I have heard this much—that one day he went on foot wearing a coarse garment to the house of Hasnak while the latter was minister. A porter insulted him and threw him down." The Khwaja said, "O holy God ! why should he cherish such hatred in his mind." He then directed me to speak thus to his majesty—"At the time I was detained in the fort of Kalinjar an attempt was made to destroy my life, but the Almighty preserved me. I then vowed and swore never to speak a word, right or wrong, in the matter of shedding any one's blood. At the time Hasnak came to Balkh, after his pilgrimage to Mecca, we marched towards Mawarau-n Nahr, and visited it with Kadar Khan. After our return I was left in Ghazni. I do (not) know what happened to Hasnak, nor what the late king said to the Khalif. Bu Nasr Mishkan knows the facts, and he should be asked. The Amir our lord is sovereign, and it is for him to order. If it be proved that Hasnak is a Karmatian, I will not say a word as to his death, although

he has had his own designs in this troublesome matter which now engages me. I have told you my thoughts, that he may not have anything to speak against me. I am averse to shedding the blood of any man; but still I must not withhold my counsel from the king, for I should act dishonestly (in advising) that neither his nor any one else's blood should be shed, although the spilling of blood is assuredly no child's play." When I took this reply, the king remained thinking for a long while; and then said, "Tell the Khwaja to issue such orders as may be proper." The Khwaja rose up and went towards the office. On the way he said to me, "'Abdus, do what you can to induce his majesty not to shed Hasnak's blood, because it will bring infamy on him." I said, "Very good," and returned and communicated the same to the Sultan. But fate was on the watch and accomplished its object.

After this (the Sultan) consulted with my *ustad*, who told me what passed in the conference. The Amir asked about Hasnak and then about the matter of the Khalif, and wanted to know what was his opinion about the religion and belief of this man, and of his receiving a robe from the Egyptians. Bu Nasr stood up and related before him the whole account of Hasnak, his going on pilgrimage to Mecca, his returning *via* Medina and Wadia-l Kara on the way to Syria, his receiving the khil'at from the Egyptians and the necessity of the act; his changing his route to Musal and not going back to Baghdad; and the Khalif's thinking that perhaps he had been ordered to do so by the Amir Mahmud. All this was stated in full detail. The Amir asked how Hasnak was in fault in the matter. Had he come through the desert he would have caused the death of many people. Bu Nasr replied, "It would have been so. But such representations were made to the Khalif as made him very angry and disturbed, so that he called Hasnak a Karmatian. Much correspondence passed about the matter, and the late king being greatly annoyed and vexed, said, one day, 'Write to this doting old Khalif, that out of regard to the 'Abbasides I have meddled with all the world. I am hunting for the Karmatians, and whenever one is found who is proved to be so, he is impaled.'

If it were established that Hasnak is a Karmatian, the commander of the faithful would soon learn what had happened to him. But I have brought him up and he stands on an equality with my sons and my brothers. If he is a Karmatian, so am I also.' (He said this though) it was not becoming in a king. I (Bu Nasr) came into the minister's office and wrote a letter in the style in which servants address their masters. After much consideration it was determined that the robe which Hasnak had received, and the presents which the Egyptians had sent to Amir Mahmud, should be sent with a messenger to Baghdad to be burnt there. When the messenger returned, the Amir asked in what place the robe and the presents were consumed, because he was sorry that Hasnak had been called a Karmatian by the Khalif. Notwithstanding this, the suspicion and bigotry of the Khalif increased more and more, but secretly not openly, until at length Amir Mahmud received the Farman. I have related the whole of what had passed" (said my *ustad*). The Amir answered "Yes, I understand it." Even after this Bu Suhal did not desist from his object.

On Tuesday, the 7th of Safar, when the court broke up, the king ordered the Khwaja to sit in his court (*taram*) because Hasnak was to be brought there, with the judges and assessors,<sup>1</sup> that a bond in favour of the Amir might be taken from him for all things he had purchased and brought with him. The Khwaja obeyed and went into the court. All the Khwajas, the principal men, and ministers of the State, Khwaja Bu-l Kasim Kasir (though he had been dismissed), Bu Suhal Zauzani, and Bu Suhal Hamaduni came there. The wise Amir also sent there the commander-in-chief of the army, and Nasr Khalaf, the Kazis of Balkh, nobles, learned men, lawyers, just men, religious men, and all who were renowned and famous were present, and took notes. When this assembly was convened, I, Bu-l Fazl and other people sat out of the court-hall, in shops, expecting to see Hasnak; and after a while he appeared unshackled. He wore a coat of some blackish colour, a vest, an upper garment, an exceedingly

<sup>1</sup> [muzakkiyān.]

white shirt, a Naishapur turban, and a new pair of Mikaili boots on his feet, and his hair was smoothed down and hidden under the turban, except a few locks which were visible. The governor of the prison was with him, and 'Ali Raiz and many soldiers from every band (*dasti*), and they took him into the court. He was there till near the time of midday prayer; and then he was brought out and taken again to the prison. He was followed by the Kazis and the lawyers. I heard two persons conversing and asking each other what could have brought Khwaja Bu Suhal to this act, for it would bring disgrace upon himself. Afterwards, Khwaja Ahmad came out with the chief men, and went to his house. Nasr Khalaf was my friend; I asked him what passed there. He said : When Hasnak came in, the Khwaja rose up, and when he showed him this respect, all the others, whether they liked it or not, did the same. Bu Suhal Zauzani could not control his anger, albeit he stood up, though not quite straight, and kept muttering to himself in his rage. Khwaja Ahmad said, "In all things there is imperfection; he is greatly fallen"<sup>1</sup> (?). Although Khwaja Amir Hasnak desired to sit before the Khwaja, yet he did not allow him. He made me and Khwaja Bu-l Kasim Kasir and Bu Nasr Mishkan sit on his right hand; for although Bu-l Kasim Kasir had been dismissed from his office yet his reputation was very great. Bu Suhal sat on the left of the Khwaja, and this offended him still more deeply. The great Khwaja turned his face towards Hasnak and asked him how he was, and how he passed his time? He replied, "I have reason to be thankful." The Khwaja said, "Do not be broken-hearted. Such accidents often befall mankind; you must submit to whatever his majesty commands, for while life remains in the body, there are a hundred thousand hopes of happiness and comfort."

Bu Suhal now recovered himself, and exclaimed, "Who shall reconcile our lord to this dog of a Karmatian, who must be gibbeted as ordered by the commander of the faithful." The Khwaja looked angrily at Bu Suhal, and Hasnak exclaimed, "Who this dog is I do not know; but

<sup>1</sup> [dar hameh kārhā nā tamām wai nek az jāy bishud.]

all the world knows to what family I belong, and what state, grandeur, and luxury have been mine. I have enjoyed this world, I have directed its affairs, but the end of man is death; and if the destroying angel has now approached me, no one can withstand him—whether the gibbet or any other be the appointed means. I am not greater than Imam Husain 'Ali. The Khwaja who tells me this, and has called me a dog<sup>1</sup> once stood at my door. The charge of being a Karmatian is more applicable to him than to me—for it is well known that I do not understand such things." Bu Suhal's bile was stirred; he called out and was about to abuse him, but the Khwaja restrained him, and said, "Is no respect due to this assembly of the Sultan in which we are sitting? We are called to settle the question, and shall soon finish it. This man has been five or six months in your hands; do what you like." Bu Suhal was silent, and spoke not a word till the assembly broke up.

Two bonds were written out on behalf of the king, which contained an inventory of all the chattels and estates of Hasnak. The name of each estate was read out to him, and he agreed to sell them of his own pleasure and free will at the prices set upon them and accept the money. All the people affixed their signatures as witnesses. The Chief Judge affixed his seal to them, and so did the other Kazis one after the other in their turns. When this was done, Hasnak was told to retire. He looked at the Khwaja, and exclaimed; "May the life of the great Khwaja be prolonged! In the time of Sultan Mahmud and by his instructions I ridiculed the Khwaja; it was a fault, but I had no help but to obey. The post of Wazir was given to me, though it was no place for me. Still I formed no design against the Khwaja, and I always favoured his people. I committed a fault, continued he, and deserve whatever punishment my lord may order. But the all-merciful master will not reject me. I am weary of life. Some care ought to be taken of my family and children, and the Khwaja must forgive me." He burst into tears, and all those who were present pitied him. The Khwaja's

<sup>1</sup> *Shaghr.*

eyes filled with tears, and he said, "You are forgiven, but you must not be so dejected, for happiness is still possible. I have considered and I accept it of the Almighty, that if he is doomed I will take care of his family."

After this Hasnak rose up, and the Khwaja and the other people also rose. When all had gone away, the Khwaja greatly censured Bu Suhal, who earnestly begged to be excused, saying that he could not suppress his anger. An account of this assembly was given to the Amir by the governor of the city and the lawyers. The Amir sent for Bu Suhal and reprimanded him sharply, saying "Granting that you thirst for this man's blood, still respect and honour is due to the assembly of my minister." Bu Suhal said, "I remembered the impudence which he exhibited to my lord at Hirat, in the reign of Amir Mahmud, and so I could not restrain myself and deal tenderly with him."

And I learnt from 'Amir 'Abdu-r Razzak that on the night preceding the day on which Hasnak was executed, Bu Suhal went to 'Abdu-r Razzak's father at the time of the night prayer, and when he was asked why he had come, he replied, I will not leave you until you go to sleep, lest you should write to the Sultan interceding for Hasnak. He was told that a letter had already been written, but that he had effected Hasnak's ruin, and had acted very badly.

That day and night preparations were made for Hasnak's public execution. Two men were dressed up as messengers coming from Baghdad, bearing a letter from the Khalif to the effect that Hasnak, the Karmatian, should be executed and stoned, so that no one else in contempt of the Khalif might dare to wear the khil'at of the Egyptian and lead pilgrims to Egypt. When everything was ready, the next morning, on Wednesday, two days before the last day of Safar, Amir Mas'ud mounted his horse, intending to go out hunting for three days, with his courtiers, attendants, and singers. He ordered the governor of the town to put up a scaffold by the side of the mosque of Balkh, below the city. People repaired to the place. Bu Suhal Zauzani rode to the gibbet and there stood overlooking it. Horsemen and foot soldiers were sent to bring Hasnak. When he was carried through the 'Ashikan Bazar

and had reached the centre of the city, Mikail, who was riding, pushed his horse in front of him, called him names and abused him. Hasnak did not look at him, nor give him any reply. But all people cursed him for this disgraceful act, and for the abuse he had uttered. The respectable people could not, however, say what ought to be done to this Mikail. But after Hasnak's death he took the sister of Ayaz for his wife, and he suffered great misfortunes and endured many hardships. He still lives, engaged in devotion and in reading the Kuran. When a friend misbehaves what is the good of dilating about it ?

Hasnak was brought to the foot of the scaffold. May God save us from a disgraceful death ! The two messengers who were declared to have come from Baghdad were stationed there, and they whose business it was were reading the Kuran. Hasnak was ordered to put off his clothes. He fastened the string of his trousers and tied up his drawers. He took off his coat and shirt and threw them away, and there he stood naked with only his turban and trousers on, and his hands clasped together. His body was as white as silver, and his face like hundreds of thousands of pictures. All men were crying with grief. An iron helmet and visor was brought, which had been purposely made small, so that it did not cover his face and head. Men cried aloud for his head and face to be covered that they might not be battered by the stones, because his head was to be sent to the Khalif at Baghdad. Hasnak was held in this state, and his lips kept moving, repeating something, until a larger helmet was brought. At this juncture, Ahmad, the keeper of the wardrobe, came riding and, looking at Hasnak, delivered this message, his majesty says, "This is your own wish, for you desired me to bring you to the scaffold whenever I became king. I wished to have mercy on you, but the commander of the faithful has written that you have become a Karmatian, and by his order you are led to the scaffold." Hasnak made no reply whatever. After this his head and face were covered with the large helmet that was just brought. They then spoke to him, but he gave no reply, and did not heed them. Every one exclaimed, are you not ashamed to slay such a

man upon the scaffold ? A great uproar was just about to commence, when the horsemen moved hastily towards the populace, and repressed the noise. Hasnak was then taken to the gibbet and led to the spot, and placed on that steed on which he had never sat before. The executioner fastened him tight, and the robes hung down. It was proclaimed that he was to be stoned, but nobody touched a stone. All were bitterly crying, particularly the Naishapurians. At last a parcel of vagabonds were hired with money to throw stones; but the man was already dead, for the executioner had cast the rope round his neck and had suffocated him. This was the end of Hasnak, his life and story. May God be merciful to him ! He used to say, Let the prayers of the Naishapurians be made for me, but they were not made.<sup>1</sup> If he did take the land and water of the Muhaminadans by violence, neither land nor water remained with him, and all the slaves, the estates, and goods and silver and gold and valuables were of no use to him. He departed, and those people who laid this plot have also pursued the same path. May God's mercy be upon them all ! This story affords a striking warning, that the causes of disputes and quarrels on account of the vanities of this world should be set aside. Foolish is the man who sets his heart on this world, for it bestoweth a gift and taketh it away again harshly.

When all was done, Bu Suhal and the others retired from the scaffold, and Hasnak was left alone as he came alone from the womb of his mother. Afterwards I heard from Bu'l Hasan Jazili, who was a friend of mine, and one of the associates of Bu Suhal, that he was in Bu Suhal's society one day when he was drinking wine. It was a goodly assembly, and many servants were waiting, and melodious singers were present. By his order the head of Hasnak was brought in unknown to the guests, placed in a dish with a cover over it. He then said, Some fresh wine has been brought in; let us partake of it. All cried, Let us have some. He ordered it to be brought forward, and at a little distance the cover was removed from the vessel. All were shocked when they saw the head of

<sup>1</sup> [marā du'ā'i naishāpuriyāh bisāzad wa nasākht.]

Hasnak. The narrator of the story fainted, but Bu Suhal Zauzani laughed, and threw away some wine which he happened to have in his hand. The head was then removed. Another day, my informant continued, when there was nobody else present, I reproached him seriously; but he said O Abu-l Hasan ! you are a chicken-hearted fellow—this is the right way of dealing with the heads of our enemies. These facts became generally known, and all men condemned and cursed him.

The day on which Hasnak was led to the scaffold, my *ustad* Bu Nasr did not break his fast, and was exceedingly sorrowful and pensive; I had never seen him before in such a state. He exclaimed, What hope is left ? The same was the case with Khwaja Ahmad, who did not go to his office that day. Hasnak remained seven years on the gibbet. His feet dropped off and his corpse entirely dried up, so that not a remnant of him was left to be taken down and buried in the usual way—no one knew where his head was or where his body. His mother was a woman of great courage. I was told that his death was concealed from her for two or three months, and when she did hear of it she did not weep as women usually do; but she cried aloud with such anguish that those who were present shed tears of blood. She then exclaimed, What a fortune was my son's ! a king like Mahmud gave him this world, and one like Mas'ud the next ! She made great mourning for her son, and every wise man who heard of it approved, and it was all proper.

One of the poets of Naishapur composed an elegy upon his death, which I call to memory :—

“ They cut off the head of him who was the head of heads,  
The ornament of his country, the crown of the age.  
Whether he was Karmatian, Jew, or infidel,  
‘Twas hard to pass from the throne to the scaffold.”

*Capture of 'Ali Ariyaruk, the Hajib and Commander-in-Chief of the Army of India, and the circumstances which befell him from this time till his Execution at Ghor. May God be merciful to him.<sup>1</sup>*

I have already given an account of Ariyaruk, commander of the army of Hindustan, how presumptuous he grew, even in the time of Amir Mahmud, and how, when he was arraigned<sup>2</sup> in the reign of Muhammad, he did not submit. In these days the great Khwaja, Ahmad Hasan, with great cleverness allured him from Hindustan, and when he saw him he told the Amir that if he valued Hindustan, Ariyaruk ought not to be there. The coming of Ariyaruk every day into the court with so many retainers and arrogant followers along with Ghazi, the commander-in-chief of the army, was offensive to the Amir. The officers of his father Mahmud's time looked with disgust upon their arrogance and superciliousness. And as this was the case with every one, there was no person to give one word of advice to these two grandees, Ariyaruk and Ghazi.<sup>3</sup> It was observed that these two generals had two clever, wise, and experienced men to conduct their household affairs, and it was clear that little could be done by Sa'id, a mere money changer, and others like him—mere servants of little worth, and no position. These Turks did just as these men prescribed, without considering the result or the possibility of evil befalling them. They had no experience, and although personally they were daring and ready, and their goods and effects ample, yet they had no knowledge of household management, and made no distinction between to-day and to-morrow. What defence had they against mishaps?

When the Mahmudians perceived this, and found an opening by which they might assail them, they conspired

<sup>1</sup> [Pages 261 to 286 of the Text.]

<sup>2</sup> [*nim 'āsi girastand urā*.]

<sup>3</sup> [The whole of this passage is confused and ambiguous, and there are omissions in Morley's edition of the text, which make it more so. In Sir H. Elliot's MS. the words "He said to his wazir in private," have been crossed out; but these words, or others equivalent, are necessary, as the passage is clearly conversational, not narrative.]

together to ruin the generals, and to involve them in trouble and danger. This was one of their plans. 'Abdus, by direction of the Amir, inveigled the stewards of the two generals to come secretly to the Amir's council. The Amir was very gracious to them, held out prospects of promotion, and directed them to reckon the very breaths of their masters, and to tell everything that passed to 'Abdus, who was to report it to him. These two despicable base persons were gained over by the favour shown to them, the like of which they had never dreamed of. They did not know that when their masters should be cast down they would be "viler than the dust—lower than the ground." How were they to know this? they were not scholars, and had never read books. They set about their business; and whatever passed, right or wrong, they observed and reported to 'Abdus. From what the Amir heard, his heart and mind became disgusted with Ariyaruk; Ghazi also was somewhat depreciated in his eyes. The Mahmudians became bolder in their statements; and as the king listened and attended to all they had to say on the matter, they persevered in their conspiracy, and determined first to effect the downfall of Ariyaruk, for when he had fallen, and Ghazi remained alone, it would be possible to overthrow him also. The Mahmudians once got information that these two servants, while in their cups, had boasted that they were servants of the king, and that they had been corrupted. So they began to flatter them and to make them presents, and they held out to them the prospect of being employed in some important duties by the Sultan, if their masters were disgraced. Another difficulty was that Ghazi, the general of the army, was a very cunning fellow<sup>1</sup> so that Iblis himself (may the curse of God be upon him!) could not weave his toils over him. He had never drunk wine, but when all his work was finished and his object gained he took to drinking. When the Amir was told of this, he gave wine to both the generals. Wine is a great evil, and when drinking is carried to excess, one can do as one pleases with the wine-bibber and excessive drinker. Ghazi being commander of the army also

<sup>1</sup> [Kurbuze, "a great cucumber."]

began to lavish favours upon the soldiers, and kept every day one division of it at his house, to which he gave wine and presents. Ariyaruk and Ghazi were frequently the guests of each other. In their parties, when wine had taken effect, the chief men used to praise them in the Turkish language, and used to call the great Hajib Bilkatigin an eunuch; 'Ali Daya an old woman; Bagtaghdi, the commander of the guards (*ghulam*) of the palace, blind and lame; and similarly they derided and reviled everybody.

I heard from 'Abdu-llah, who after the downfall of the two generals, was manager of the affairs of Bagtaghdi, that one day the king did not hold his court, but drank wine. Ghazi returned home with Ariyaruk and they took many persons with them, and all sat down to drink. The commander, Bagtaghdi, secretly sent me to Bilkatigin and 'Ali, with this message, "These two conceited persons exceed all bounds; if you deem it expedient, ride out with twenty guardsmen on pretence of going a hunting." This was done, that he, with Abu 'Abdu-llah and some guards, might meet him and consult about the plans to be adopted. He (Bilkatigin) approved and said he would go on towards Manjuran until the commander should arrive. They all mounted and rode on. Bagtaghdi also mounted and took me with him. He also took hawks, panthers, and every requisite with him. When we had gone two parasangs, these three persons stood on a rising ground with their three stewards, *viz.*, myself, Bu Ahmad Takalki, who was steward to the great Hajib, and Amirak, deputy of 'Ali; and they sent away the guards with the falconers hunting, and we six persons remained there. The chiefs conversed with each other, and for a while expressed their disappointment at the Amir, on account of the ascendancy of these two generals. Bagtaghdi observed, "It is very surprising, for in the palace of Mahmud there was no one of less repute than these two persons, thousands of times they have kissed the ground before me; still they have both turned out hardy and brave. Ghazi is the most artful of the artful (*Kurbuze az kurbuzan*), but Ariyaruk is an ass of asses. Amir Mahmud promoted them and placed them in a high position, so that they are become nobles."

Ghazi rendered a very meritorious service to our Sultan in Naishapur, and thus he obtained this high rank. Although the Sultan dislikes Ariyaruk and likes Ghazi, yet "when they drink wine and carouse familiarly we may divert his mind from the latter also. But it will be no use to attempt anything against Ghazi until Ariyaruk falls. They are held together by a single tie, and both will fall together : we shall then be delivered from their annoyance." The great Hajib and 'Ali said, "Some drink must be concocted or some one must be sent openly to kill Ariyaruk." General Bagtaghdi said, "Both these plans are worthless, and will not succeed. We shall be disgraced and they will acquire greater stability. The best plan is for us to abstain from such schemes, and to make a show of friendship to them; we may then employ certain persons to tell tales of them, and to exaggerate what the Turks and these two generals say, and to spread it abroad. We shall then see how far matters will go." They so determined. The guards and falconers returned, bringing much game, and as the day was far advanced, the hunting-boxes were opened and they partook of food—servants, guards, inferiors and all. They then returned, and, in accordance with their resolution, they busied themselves about those two persons.

Some days passed. The king was incensed with Ariyaruk, and secretly designed to arrest him. He complained of him to the minister, saying, that matters had reached such a pitch that Ghazi was getting spoilt by him. No king could endure such things. It was not right for generals of the army to be disobedient, and for children to exhibit such boldness. It was indispensably necessary to arrest him, because Ghazi would then come to a right understanding. What had the Khwaja to say to this ?

The Khwaja considered awhile, and then said, "May my lord's life be prolonged. I have taken an oath not to fail of my duty in any case concerning the prosperity of the country. The duty of commanding an army is very difficult and delicate, and it is entrusted to the king. May it please his majesty to excuse his slave from pronouncing an opinion in this particular matter, and to do what may seem to him right, for if I should say anything about

this affair, it might seem inappropriate to his majesty, and cause him to be displeased with me."

The Amir answered, "Khwaja, you are my khalifa, and the most trusted of all my servants. I must of necessity consult you in such affairs, and you must give me your advice according to your knowledge. I will listen to it, and after pondering over it to myself, whatever seems to be reasonable, I will direct to be done." The Khwaja replied, "Now I cannot say anything. What I expressed with respect to Ariyaruk on a former occasion was advice applicable to Hindustan. This man had there acted tyrannically and rashly. He had acquired a great name in that country, but spoiled it. The late king summoned him, but he was tardy and remiss in obeying, and made frivolous excuses. Neither did he attend when Amir Muhammad called him, for he answered that Amir Mas'ud was heir-apparent of his father, but that if Mas'ud would acquiesce in the succession of his brother and not march from Irak to Ghazni, then he would come to pay his allegiance. When he heard your name and I told him what I had to say, he came with me hither. Up to this time I have never heard that he has been guilty of any presumption or disobedience worthy of notice. It is a very simple matter to make a great display with boundless means, and to drink wine without permission with Ghazi and the Turks. In one interview I will set him right, so that you need not speak one word about the matter. Your majesty's dominions have been extended and useful men are required. It will be long before you find one like Ariyaruk. I have said what occurs to me, but it is for you to command."

The Amir said, "I understand. It is just as you say. But you must keep this matter secret, and we will consider it more carefully." The Khwaja expressed his obedience and retired.

The Mahmudians did not desist from their representations, but went so far as to insinuate to the Amir that Ariyaruk had grown suspicious,—he had proposed to Ghazi that they should raise a disturbance, and if they did not meet with support to take their departure. More than

this the greater part of the army was willing to obey Ariyaruk.

The Amir one day held a court, and all men assembled. When the court broke up, he said, "Do not go away, but stay and we will take some wine." The great Khwaja, the 'Ariz, and the *Diwan* also sat down, and the dishes were brought in; one was placed before the Amir on his throne, one before Amir Ghazi and Ariyaruk, one before the 'Ariz Bu Suhal Zauzani and Bu Nasr Mishkan, and one before the officers of these two persons (Ariyaruk and Ghazi). Abu-l Kasim Kasir was sitting there like the courtiers. Various dishes were ordered and were brought in. When these great men had dined, they arose and came back into the court-hall (*taram*), and there sat and washed their hands. The great Khwaja praised both the generals and spoke very graciously. They said, "Our lord is always kind and gracious, and we are ready to sacrifice our lives in his service; but people have produced anxiety in our minds, and we do not know what to do." The Khwaja observed, "This is absurd, and is a vain fancy which you must banish from your minds. Wait a little till I am at leisure; I will then call for you." So he went in alone, and seeking a private interview with the king, he brought up this matter, and begged that they might again receive the royal regard, but it was for his majesty to decide. The Amir answered, "I understand"; and then he called all the party back again. The minstrels came and began to play. Pleasure was at its height, and everything went on merrily. When the time of the first prayer arrived, the Amir made a sign to the singers and they kept silence. He then turned towards the minister and said, "I have hitherto observed, as I ought, the obligations I owe to these two generals. As to Ghazi, he rendered me a service at Naishapur which no man of the army I had with me did, and he came from Ghaznin. And when Ariyaruk heard that I had reached Balkh, he hastened thither with the Khwaja and tendered his services. I hear that some people are jealous of them, and speak ill of them and make their minds perplexed. They must not be alarmed, but must place full reliance in my words, for I will not listen to what anyone may say against them." The Khwaja observed,

“Nothing now remains to be said, for what greater favour can there be than that which has been expressed by his majesty’s words.” Both the generals kissed the ground and the throne also, and returning to their places sat down very happy. The Amir ordered two fine garments to be brought, both wrought with gold, with two sword-belts set with jewels, said to be of the value of fifty thousand dinars each. He again called them both forward, and ordered them to put on the garments and fasten them. The Amir placed the sword-belts round their necks with his own hands. They then kissed his hand, the throne, and the ground, and having returned to their places they sat down, and afterwards departed. All the dignitaries of the court went away with them to their own abodes. To-day, it was my, Bu Fazl’s, turn of service, and all this I witnessed and noted down in the calendar of the year.

After they had gone away the Amir ordered two golden cups with bottles of wine, plates of sweetmeats, and vases of flowers to be prepared. He directed one of his courtiers, Bu-l Hasan Karkhi, to go to Ghazi, saying that these things should be carried after him, and that three singers should accompany him. He also instructed him to tell Ghazi that he had left the court too early, and that he must now drink wine with his companions and listen to the minstrels. Three singers accordingly went with Bu-l Hasan, and the porters carried the things. Muzaffar, a courtier, was ordered to go with the three singers, and with the same kind of presents to Ariyaruk. The Khwaja made many remarks, and said what he deemed right on the subject. About the time of afternoon prayer he returned home, the others also took their leave. The Amir was there till about evening, and then he rose up and went into the palace.

The Mahmudians were much grieved by what had just passed. Neither they nor any one else knew what the future would bring forth. Time spake with an eloquent tongue, but no one regarded.

The two courtiers went to the generals with those things and the singers. The generals expressed their obligations, and when the message of the Sultan was delivered to them they drank the wine with pleasure and

rejoiced greatly. When they became elated with wine, they gave to (each of) the royal messengers a horse, a saddle inlaid with gold, a robe, some silver, and a Turkish slave, and sent them away delighted. In the same manner they rewarded the singers with garments and silver, and sent them away. Ghazi then went to sleep, but Ariyaruk had the habit that when he once sat down to drink he would continue boozing for three or four entire days. This time he drank for two days, rejoicing over the favour which had been shown to them. The king held his court again the next morning, and the commander of the army, Ghazi, came with a different air and great display. When he sat down the Amir asked him why Ariyaruk had not also come. Ghazi replied, "It is his habit to drink successively for three or four days, and he will especially do so now in his delight and gratification." The king smiled and said, We must also drink to-day, so we will send some one for Ariyaruk. Ghazi kissed the ground and wished to retire, but he bade him remain, and they began to drink. The Amir commanded the attendance of Amirak Sipah-dar Khummarchi, who also used to drink, and for whom Ariyaruk had great friendship. Amir Mahmud had sent this man to Ariyaruk in Hind with a message for him to come to court, and he returned in the month in which (Mahmud) died as I have before stated. Amirak came before the Amir, who said to him, "Take fifty flagons of wine to Hajib Ariyaruk and stay with him, as he is a great friend of yours, until he gets drunk and goes to sleep; tell him also that I excuse his attendance at court, and that he is to drink according to his wont." Amirak went and found that Ariyaruk had become like a ball.<sup>1</sup> He was rambling about in the garden and drinking wine and the singers were singing. The message was delivered to him, on which he kissed the ground and wept much. He gave much wealth to Amirak and the porters. The latter returned, but Amirak remained with him. The General Ghazi remained in the same place with the king till the next morning, when he

<sup>1</sup> [chūn goy shudeh Goi-shudan, according to the dictionaries, signifies "to place the head on the knees, to watch narrowly," the text would rather seem to mean "Restless as a ball that is tossed about."]

returned home taking several military officers and Hajibs, and there sat down to drink. That day he gave away immense riches in dinars and dirhams, in cash, horses, clothes, and slaves. Ariyaruk, as he was wont, continued dozing and rousing up, sipping soup<sup>1</sup> and again drinking wine, without knowing in the least what he was doing. That day and night, and the day after it, he never ceased. The king did not hold his court next morning, but was prepared to arrest Ariyaruk. He came out and sat on a green (*khazra*) close to the minister's office. We were in the office. Somebody secretly went and brought accounts of Ariyaruk. When noon arrived, 'Abdus came and whispered something in the ear of Bu Nasr Mishkan, who rose up and ordered the writers to leave, because the garden was to be cleared. With the exception of myself all rose up and went away. Me he privately told to send his horse back to his house and to seat myself at the portico of the office, for there was something important to be done. I was to carefully ascertain all that passed, and then come to him. I undertook to do so, and he went away. The minister, the '*Ariz*, and all the other people also left. Baktagin Hajib, son-in-law of 'Ali Daya, came into the portico and went to the king. He was there only for a minute (*sa'at*) and returned. The king called Muhtaj, chief of the guards, and said something to him privately. He went away, and returned with five hundred soldiers completely armed from every division, and sent them into the garden where they were to sit concealed. The Hindu officers also came, bringing with them three hundred soldiers, and they also were posted in the garden. One of the chamberlains and a general went to Ariyaruk and told him that the Sultan was enjoying his wine, and invited him to join him. Some people had also been sent to invite General Ghazi. He (Ariyaruk) was in such a state of drunkenness that he could not use his hands and feet. He said, "How can I go in this condition, and what shall I be able to do?" Amirak, *sipah-dar*, whom the king had trusted, said, "May the general's life be prolonged, the king's order must be obeyed, and you must attend the

<sup>1</sup> *rashkeh mi ashamid.*

court. When he sees you in this state, he will excuse you and send you back. But it will be very bad for you if you don't go; and remarks will be made upon you."

He also made Ariyaruk's *hajib*, Altutigin<sup>1</sup> second him, and say that the general must of course go. So Ariyaruk called for garment, stockings, and cap, put them on, and summoned a large number of guards (*ghulam*) and two hundred soldiers. Amirak said to his *hajib*, "This is bad; he is going to drink wine. Ten guards (*ghulam*) with shields and a hundred soldiers are sufficient." So he sent the other soldiers back, and Ariyaruk himself knew nothing of what was passing in the world. When he reached the court, Hajib Baktagin advanced, and the captain of the guards made him alight, and they walked before him to the court-house, where they made him sit down. Ariyaruk, after a moment, stood up and said, "I am drunk, and can do nothing, I must go back." Baktagin told him it was improper to go away without permission, and that they were going to inform the king. So he sat down in the portico, and I, Bu-l Fazl, was looking at him. He called Haji, water carrier, who came and put a pitcher of water before him. He put his hand in, took out the ice and ate it. Baktagin said, "Brother, this is wrong. You are a general, and yet you are eating ice here in the portico; go into the court and do there what you like." So he went in. If he had not been drunk, and they had wanted to take him, they would have found it a difficult matter. While he was seated in the inner apartment, fifty brave soldiers, on hearing the signal, suddenly rushed in. Baktagin also entered and took Ariyaruk in his arms. The soldiers came up on both sides and held him so that he could not move in the least. He cried out to Baktagin, "O brother, you coward! Was it for this purpose that you brought me here?" Other slaves came and pulled off the boots from his feet. In each boot there were two daggers.<sup>2</sup> Muhtaj also came, and heavy chains were brought which were put round his legs. His coat was also taken off, and in it some poison was found, and also some

<sup>1</sup> [Variously written "Altarniyatigin," and "Altubatigin."]

<sup>2</sup> [Worn as Highlanders wear their knives.]

charms. They were all taken away, and he was carried out. Fifty soldiers surrounded him, and other men rushed and seized his horse and trappings and his guards. The head of his escort with three guards escaped. The other guards seized their arms and got upon a roof, and a great tumult arose. The Amir was engaged with Baktigin in securing Ariyaruk, and people had run to Bagtaghdi, the chief Hajib Bilkatigin, and the officers of the army, to tell them what was going on, and to summon them. They were all mounted ready. The guards and attendants of Ariyaruk, seeing him thus bound, made a great outcry, and, collecting together, went towards his house. Numerous other horsemen of all classes also joined them, and a great and obstinate strife arose. Amir 'Abdus was sent to Ariyaruk's party to say, "Ariyaruk was a self-conceited man and a hard master. To-day it has been deemed expedient to suppress him. We are your masters, do not act like children; give up the strife, for it is clear you are too few to resist. You will all be slain in an instant, and Ariyaruk will gain nothing by it. If you restrain yourselves you shall be suitably rewarded." To the commander of these people a friendly and comforting message was sent. When 'Abdus delivered the message, it acted like water thrown on fire—the leader and the guards kissed the ground and the tumult instantly subsided. The house was attached and seals were affixed to the doors; night fell, and no one would have said he had ever been there. I returned and related to my preceptor all that I had seen. Then I said my night prayers. Ariyaruk was taken from the court to Khunduz, and after ten days he was sent to Ghazni, and given into the charge of Bu 'Ali kotwal, who according to orders kept him some time in the fort, so secretly that nobody knew that he had been dismissed. Afterwards he was sent to Bu-l Hasan Khalaf in Ghor, who kept him in some place there. Here ends his story.

I will now relate according to my own information what was his end and how he was slain. He was captured in Balkh, on Wednesday, the 19th of Rabi'u-l Awwal, A.H. 422 (March, 1031). On the day after his arrest, the Amir sent to this house, Piroz Waziri Khadim, Bu

Sa'id Mushrif, who still survives and lives at the Kandi inn, who had not then obtained the rank of a Mushrif, but was one of the grandees of the court, and was known by the name of Kazi Khusru Hasan; Bu-l Hasan 'Abdu-l Jalil, and Bu Nasr Mustaufi (commander of a detachment). They also brought with them the Mustaufi and steward of Ariyaruk (whom they had caught), and opened the doors. They appropriated immense wealth, and reported that there was much property in Hindustan. Three days were occupied in the work of completing an inventory of all that belonged to Ariyaruk, and it was taken to the court. His best slaves were made captives, those of the second order were given to Ghazi, the commander, and the king's attendants. Bu-l Hasan 'Abdu-l Jalil, and Bu Sa'id Mushrif were ordered to go to Hindustan to fetch the property of Ariyaruk. They proceeded with great speed, but before Ariyaruk was captured, officers had been hastily despatched thither with letters directing that Ariyaruk's party should be carefully watched.

Ghazi came to the court the day after the seizure of Ariyaruk, greatly troubled and alarmed. He was admitted, and when the court broke up, the Amir privately observed to the minister and Ghazi that "the conduct of this man (Ariyaruk) was very different from that of my other servants. He had grown disobedient and had become so arrogant in the time of my father, that he shed much innocent blood. The reporters of the news dared not expose his conduct, they were afraid of their lives, because he had taken possession of the roads and nobody could pass without his permission. He did not come from Hindustan when he was summoned by my father, and would never come. If coercive measures were taken against him he used to create a great disturbance. The Khwaja showed great adroitness in contriving to bring him here. Such a servant is of no use. I have spoken thus that the commander-in-chief may not entertain any fear in his mind from what has just passed. His case is quite different. Different also was the service he rendered me at the time I was in Ispahan when I started from thence to Khurasan." He kissed the ground and said, "I am your slave, and I should

even consider it an honour if the king were to make me keeper of his stable. The power of command is his and he well knows every one's worth." The Khwaja also spoke a few appropriate words to the same effect about Ariyaruk, and for the comfort of Ghazi. He said what he thought suitable, and then they retired. Both the Khwajas<sup>1</sup> sat with him in the court-room, and he called my preceptor, Bu Nasr, who told them all the acts of hardship and injustice which were committed by Ariyaruk as they had been reported by his enemies. Ghazi was surprised and said, "Of course it is on no account proper to set him free." Bu Nasr went in and reported this to the king and brought satisfactory answers from him. Both these nobles spoke pleasant things to each other; so Ghazi was much gratified and retired. I heard Bu Nasr state that Khwaja Ahmad said, "This Turk is very suspicious, for he is very cunning and sly (*kurbuz o dahi*) and these things will be all stored up in his memory. But alas ! for a man like Ariyaruk who might conquer another region besides Hindustan, and for whom I would be surety. The king has heard enough about him and will not release him. He (the king) will ruin everything. Ghazi also will fall; mark my words." He then arose and went into his office, very disturbed in mind. And this old wolf said<sup>2</sup>. There is a conspiracy of the men of Mahmud's and Mas'ud's time, and they are prosecuting their designs. God grant it may end well.

*Account of an Inundation at Ghazni—Mahmud Warrak  
and his Sons.<sup>3</sup>*

On Saturday, the 9th of Rajab, between the morning and afternoon prayers, there were some slight showers which sufficed to wet the ground. Some herdsmen were encamped in the dry bed of the Ghazni river with their droves of cattle. Although they were told to decamp, as in the event of a flood they would be in danger, they would not listen, till at last, when the rain fell heavier, they

<sup>1</sup> [har du khwāja ba wai bitāram binishast wa ustādam nau nasrrā bikhwānd.]

<sup>2</sup> [wa in gurg-i pir goft.]

<sup>3</sup> [This extract was translated by Sir H. Elliot. Pages 315 to 318 of the Text.]

began to take their departure, but slowly, and removed toward the wall near the suburb of the ironmongers, where they sought shelter and rest, but were again at fault. In another direction, where the stream flows by Afghanshala, there were several of the Royal mules stabled. Trees extended from the stream as far as the walls, and the stable keepers raised mounds of dung and other refuse to protect themselves against the flood, but without any effect, for they were direct in the path of the flood. Our prophet Muhammad says (God's mercy be on him !), "Defend us from the two dumb and the two deaf," meaning thereby water and fire.

The bridge which stood at that time was a massive structure, supported by strong buttresses. The top was securely covered, and on each side of the roadway, there was a row of shops, just as there is now. When, in consequence of the flood, the bridge was so destroyed that no one could pass over it, that holy personage (Amir Mas'ud) (God's mercy be on him !) constructed the present bridge, of one arch, of such excellence and beauty, that may he be long remembered for his goodness and humanity !

At the time of afternoon prayers the bridge was in such a state as no one ever remembered, and when about one watch of the night had passed, such a flood came, that the oldest inhabitants agreed that they had never seen the like. Many trees, torn up by the roots, came rushing down towards the bridge. The cattle and the mules endeavoured to save their lives, but the flood carried many of them down; and as the waterway of the bridge was narrow, it was impossible that trees and animals together could pass through it at the same time. They filled up the arches, so that even the water could not escape through them. Then the water rose over the roadway, and carried away everything, like a dispersed army, and entering the bazars reached as far as the Bankers' quarters, and did a great deal of injury.

What showed the great force of the water more than anything else was, that it carried away the bridge from its foundations, with all its shops. It carried away many

caravanserais in its way, destroyed the bazars, and came rushing in a flood against the old fort, which stood then as it stood before the time of Ya'kub Lais, whose brother, 'Umru, built this city and fort of Ghaznin.

All these matters the learned Mahmud Warrak has described most excellently in the history which he wrote in the year 450 H. He composed a history of several thousand years, ending with 409 H. As he ended there, I determined to continue his history from that period. This Mahmud Warrak is a true and faithful historian. I have seen ten or fifteen of his excellent compositions on every subject, and I intended to write something in his praise, but when his sons heard of it, they exclaimed and said, "are not we, his sons, able to write an account of him, that you should undertake it, as you have declared your intention of doing ? Let it be alone." Being helpless, I abandoned my intention.

This inundation did so much injury that there is no computing it. The next day, men stood on each side of the river looking on. About twelve o'clock the flood began to abate. But for several days there was no bridge, and men found it difficult to pass from this side to that and from that side to this, until the bridge was again mended. I have heard from several Zawali<sup>1</sup> narrators that, after the subsidence of the flood, many wretched sufferers found gold, silver, and garments that the water had swept away, and God Almighty knows what the destitute did not meet with from his goodness.

The Amir returned from his hunting ground to the Sadihazar<sup>2</sup> garden, on Saturday, the 16th of Rajab, and remained there seven days, pleasuring and drinking.

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### *Ahmad Nialtigin appointed Governor of Hindustan<sup>3</sup>*

The Amir, addressing the Khwaja, said, "Hindustan must not be left without a governor, but who is to be sent there ?" He answered, "You, my lord, know all the

<sup>1</sup> Of Zabulistan, or the country about Ghazni.

<sup>2</sup> Literally 100,000 from its containing as many shrubs of flowers.

<sup>3</sup> [Pages 323 to 329 of the Text.]

servants and you must have thought about the person to be appointed. The office is very important and honourable. When Ariyaruk was there he kept up great state, and now a man ought to be sent of the same dignity. Although under the authority of your majesty matters may go on well, still a trained and experienced general is required." The Amir said, "I have fixed my heart upon Ahmad Nialtigin, though he has not been trained under generals; he was treasurer to my father, and accompanied him in all his journeys. He studied and knew the ways and habits of the late king." The Khwaja remained thinking for a while.<sup>1</sup> He had an ill feeling towards this man, because he had formed many designs when he, the Khwaja, was discharging the fine imposed upon him.<sup>2</sup> Ahmad had also purchased his goods at the very lowest prices. But the Khwaja had been restrained, and had never taken revenge, until the present time when he had directed that a reckoning should be held with him. His excesses were searched out and close calculations were made so that money might be exacted from him. But the king had now selected him, and so the Khwaja wished to cure the wound of his heart. The Khwaja also was very inimical to Kazi Shiraz Bu-l Hasan 'Ali, because Amir Mahmud had often said in his usual way, "How long shall I bear with the airs of this Ahmad, he is not so indispensable, for there are other persons fit for the office of Wazir. For example, there is one, Kazi Shiraz." Now this Kazi Shiraz did not possess even one-tenth part of the abilities of that great man (the Khwaja). But kings say what they like, and no one can argue with them. At all events in this counsel the Khwaja deemed it allowable to set a great man like Ahmad Nialtigin against Kazi Shiraz, as the latter might thus be disgraced. He replied, "May my lord's life be prolonged, it is a very good selection, and there is no one so fit as Ahmad. But promises must be taken from him on oath, and his son must be left here with other sureties." The Amir coincided, and directed the Khwaja to send for Ahmad to tell him

<sup>1</sup> [The whole of the following passage is very obscure and doubtful.]

<sup>2</sup> [Morley's edition says *Khwaja murāfa'a midad* but Elliot's MS. has the words *mal musādara* before the verb.]

all that was proper and to do what was needful. The Khwaja came into the minister's office and called for Ahmad, who was terribly afraid he might have to suffer another punishment. However, he came. The Khwaja made him sit down and said to him, "Don't you know that you have to render several years' account, and that I am bound by oath to do my utmost in the king's business. Your demeanour must not be such as to aggrieve me, and I must not take such proceedings as to irritate you. When a king has determined upon a matter, nothing remains for his servants but to give counsel and show kindness (to each other)." Ahmad kissed the ground and said, "I can in nowise consider this as difficult, for I have not seen the king to-day, nor have I seen him for years. We servants must agree with what the king orders, and with what you, the great Khwaja, consider best." The minister observed, "The Sultan consulted with me in private to-day on different topics, of which the most important was that of Hindustan. He said, 'There is a man there like Kazi Shiraz, who wears a soldier's garment, but who is no commander. A general is needed there, one of renown and dignity to lead the forces and to exact tribute. It is the Kazi's business to carry on civil affairs and collect the revenue, but the general at his convenience makes war, takes tribute, seizes upon elephants, and chastises the refractory Hindus.'" The Khwaja continued—"When I said to him 'Your majesty knows the merits of all your servants, whom do you choose for the duty ?' he replied, 'I have fixed my mind upon Ahmad Nialtigin,' and I saw he had a very high opinion of you. I also spoke what I knew regarding your bravery and experience. He directed me to send for you to acquaint you with his majesty's will and to arrange matters. What have you to say about it ?'" Ahmad kissed the ground, rose up and said, "I have no words to express my thanks for this favour, nor do I think myself deserving of it; but I will perform the duty which may be assigned to me to the best of my power." So all was settled, and neither kindness nor counsel was wanting. The Khwaja gladdened him and praised him, and sent him away. He then called Muzaffar, chief of the royal

attendants, told him all that had passed, and directed him to request the Amir to order a khil'at to be prepared, more magnificent than that which was granted to Ariyaruk, the late governor of Hindustan, and that Bu Nasr Mishkan should write out the royal diploma for him, and get it impressed with the royal signet, so that at the time of granting the robe all the necessary orders might be given to him to enable him to assume his command at once, and enter on his expedition in time. Muzaffar went and delivered the message. The king gave the order, and a robe of honour was prepared for Ahmad, together with kettle-drums, flags, and all things usually given to generals of the army.

On Sunday, the second of Sha'ban, of this year, the Amir ordered Ahmad Nialtigin to be taken to the wardrobe and he was invested with the khil'at. It was very splendid : first came the golden girdle, which was of the value of one thousand kanis, and with it was also given a cap with two points, which was also prepared at the expense of the same sum. He observed the ceremonials of respect, and the Amir received him graciously; he then returned home with great honour. People offered him presents according to custom. The next day he again came to the court. The Amir held a private consultation with the great Khwaja and Khwaja Bu Nasr, secretary of state; Ahmad was also called, and he received orders from the king's own tongue. From thence they came into the court-hall, and all three sat there alone. The royal diploma and the articles and agreement<sup>1</sup> were written out, and both the papers were duly sealed. They were taken to Ahmad, and the writings and a solemn oath were put before him. He took the oath according to custom, and put his signature to it. Then the papers were shown to the king, and given into the charge of the record keeper.

The Khwaja said to Ahmad, "that self-sufficient fellow of Shiraz wishes the generals to be under his command, and when he had to deal with such a weak man as 'Abdu-llah Karatigin, he governed all. On hearing the

<sup>1</sup> [māshur wa muwāza'a'i' jawābhā and below muwāza'a wa jawab.]

name of Ariyaruk he knew that a man who had teeth was coming; he wished to have a revenue-collector and an accountant-general sent there, so Abu-l Fath and Damaghani were sent with Abu-l Faraj Kirmani, but they could not cope with Ariyaruk. However, what happened to Ariyaruk happened in consequence of his conducting matters for his own benefit; but you, who are a general, must act according to the articles and your agreement. You must not say anything to any person respecting the political or revenue matters, so that no one's word may be heard against you, but you must perform all the duties of a commander, so that that fellow may not be able to put his hand upon your sinews and drag you down. Bu-l Kasim Bu-l Hakam, the superintendent of the news carriers, a most confidential officer, reports in due time all that occurs, and the imperial and ministerial orders are regularly sent to him. You two persons must not give trouble to the court. What you have to write to me you must state in full detail, that a distinct reply may be sent. His majesty deems it advisable to send with you some of the Dailami chiefs, such as Bu Nasr Taifur and others, in order that they may be at a distance from the court, because they are strangers; he also sends some others of whom apprehensions are entertained, such as Bu Nasr Bamiani, brother of the prince of Balkh and nephew of the chief of Sarkhas; also some refractory slaves who have committed many disloyal actions, which have been proved against them. They are to be set at liberty and some assistance is to be given to them, so that it may appear that they belong to your army. You must take them all with you and treat them very kindly and well. But, of course, none of them must be allowed to go beyond the river Chandraha<sup>1</sup> without the king's order, or without your knowledge and permission. Whenever you march on an expedition you must take these people with you, and you must be careful not to let them mingle with the army of Lahore and not allow them to drink wine or play at *Chaugan*. You must keep spies and observers to watch them, and this is a duty which must in no case be neglected. Injunctions also will be sent to Bu-l Kasim Bu-l

<sup>1</sup> [The Chinab.]

Hakam to give you a helping hand, and to do everything that may be necessary in this matter. In other affairs he is to act under the orders of the court, and in accordance with the royal mandate and the conditions of his appointment. What you have just heard are the secret orders of the king, and you must not divulge them. When you reach the station you must report all circumstances which occur, also what reliance is to be placed on each individual, and whether he acts upon the royal orders which he has received."

Ahmad Nialtigin said, "I will do all this, so that no harm may be done." Then he retired. Close at his heels the Khwaja sent him a message by Hasan, his Hajib, to say that his majesty had directed that his (Nialtigin's) son was to remain behind, though he would no doubt take with him his wife and children who lived in privacy. The son was to be left at home under the care of a tutor, a friend and a confidential person, in order that the father might feel himself more at liberty. This was an arrangement made by his majesty out of regard to Ahmad, for he did not wish to see his son associating with the bodyguards. The Khwaja added, "I was ashamed to tell you this, for it is not right to require a pledge from you; but although the Sultan has not given a distinct order about it, yet the conditions and the customs must not be departed from. I have no option, but to look after all the affairs of the country, great and small, and to protect the interest of you and the like of you." Ahmad answered, "I am obedient and think it best both now and henceforth to do that which the great Khwaja approves and directs." He gave a handsome present to the Hajib and dismissed him. He also made proper arrangements for his son. His equipment as a general, retinue, arms, guards, and everything else he carefully prepared in the manner which he had seen and had learnt to be the rule in such cases. When all was done he got leave to set out.

On Saturday, five days before the end of Sha'ban, the king rode and came to the desert of Shabahar with many attendants and riding under a canopy on an elephant. He stopped there, and Ahmad Nialtigin came before him,

dressed in a red garment, and paid his respects. A very fine cavalcade, many armed men, military officers, the Dailamis, and others, who were placed under his command, passed by. They were followed by one hundred and thirty royal slaves whom the Amir had set free, who carried their letters of freedom, and delivered them to him. These were under three of the king's own officers, and had with them three flags, bearing the device of a lion and spears, according to the fashion of royal slaves. After them came kettle-drums, and the banners of Ahmad of red cloth and with gilded balls on their tops, accompanied by seventy-five slaves, richly caparisoned camels and dromedaries. The king said, "Ahmad, rejoice, and be happy; be careful to understand the value of this favour. Keep my image ever before your eyes and do good service, so that you may attain to greater honour." He promised to do all that could be required of a servant, and saluted. The horse of the commander of the army of Hindustan was called for; and he mounted and rode away.

In the end, this Ahmad Nialtigin was ruined; he turned away from the path of rectitude, and took a crooked course, as I shall have to relate in the proper place.

### *Ahmad Nialtigin at Benares<sup>1</sup>*

In this summer (424 H., 1033 A.D.) another event took place in which Ahmad Nialtigin, the commander of Hindustan, was concerned. A certain man was driven to rebellion by tyranny, and this was the cause of the rise of disturbances in Khurasan, and of the Turkomans and Saljukians becoming powerful, according to the decree of God, whose name is glorious. There is a cause for everything. The great Khwaja, Ahmad Hasan, was badly disposed towards this Ahmad, for the reason we have before stated, that is, he had formed designs against the Khwaja's goods and effects, at the time when he was involved in law troubles. The Khwaja was also at variance with Kazi Shiraz, because Amir Mahmud had often declared him to be fit for the office of Wazir. Ahmad Hasan, at the time of dispatching Ahmad Nialtigin on the command to

<sup>1</sup> [Pages 495 to 497 of the Text.]

Hindustan, had instructed him to be watchful against Kazi Shiraz; saying, you are by the Sultan's order appointed generalissimo in Hindustan, and the Kazi has no control over you. Let him not cast his spell over you and bring you under his control. Ahmad Nialtigin went boldly and proudly; he did not heed the Kazi in the least in his duties of commander. This Ahmad was a bold man. He was called the *alter ego*<sup>1</sup> of Amir Mahmud, and well knew the distinction between right and wrong. People used to tell stories about his mother, his birth, and Amir Mahmud. There was certainly a friendly relation between that king and his mother,—but God knows the truth. This man thoroughly understood the affairs and habits of Amir Mahmud, by association and converse with him. When he reached Hindustan, he kept several sturdy slaves, and had a fine equipage and retinue. A difference took place between him and Kazi Shiraz with respect to the command of the army. The Kazi said, "The command ought to be given to 'Abdu-llah Karatigin, as was expressed in his farman." Ahmad protested he would not agree to anything of the kind, saying, "The Sultan conferred this office on me, and I am in all respects better and greater than 'Abdu-llah; he and others must march under my banners." The matter went very far. The army of Lahore and the warriors sided with Ahmad; and he with his followers irritated the Kazi, and formed a plan of going to some distant place. The Kazi sent messengers complaining of him, who reached Bust just as we were about to go toward Hirat and Naishapur. Amir Mas'ud asked the great Khwaja, Ahmad Hasan, what he thought most advisable, and he replied, "Ahmad Nialtigin is a fitter person to be general than anyone else. An answer must be written to the Kazi that his business is to manage the revenue, and that he has nothing to do with the command or with the army. Ahmad must himself do what he ought to do, and take the revenue and the tribute from the Thakurs, go on

<sup>1</sup> ['Atsat, lit. "the sneeze," or as we have it in the vulgar tongue, "the spit."]

expeditions and bring large sums into the treasury. There is a proverb—‘There must be no contention between the door and the house.’”

The Amir approved of this, and an answer was written to the above effect. Ahmad Nialtigin was much encouraged, because the Khwaja wrote to inform him of what Kazi Shiraz had written, and what reply had been sent. He marched out with his warriors and the army of Lahore, and exacted ample tribute from the Thakurs. He crossed the river Ganges and went down the left bank. Unexpectedly (*na-gah*) he arrived at a city which is called Benares, and which belonged to the territory of Gang. Never had a Muhammadan army reached this place. The city was two parasangs square, and contained plenty of water. The army could only remain there from morning to mid-day prayer, because of the peril. The markets of the drapers, perfumers, and jewellers were plundered, but it was impossible to do more. The people of the army became rich, for they all carried off gold, silver, perfumes, and jewels, and got back in safety.

The Kazi, on the achievement of this great success, was likely to go mad. He speedily sent messengers, who reached us in Naishapur and represented that Ahmad Nialtigin had taken immense riches from the Thakurs and tributaries. Enormous wealth had been obtained, but Ahmad had concealed the greater portion of it, and had sent only a little to the court. The Kazi went on to say that “his confidential agents had secretly accompanied Ahmad, who knew not of their presence. Some accountants and the chief of the couriers were also there, and these had kept an account of all that he had exacted. This account he had now sent for the information of his majesty, without the knowledge of that base dishonest man. Ahmad had also clandestinely sent men to Turkistan *via* Banjhir (Panjshir ?) to procure Turkish slaves for him. That up to this time about seventy slaves (*haftad o and*) had been brought and others were expected. That he had made all the Turkomans who were there his friends, and they were

disaffected; what his intentions are nobody knows, but he calls himself son of Mahmud. Your slaves have dutifully given the information. Your majesty's will is supreme."

These letters took effect on the Amir's heart, and produced a deep impression. He ordered my instructor, Bu Nasr, to keep the matter secret, and let no one be informed of it. Bearers of good tidings also soon arrived, and brought letters from Ahmad Nialtigin, Governor of Hindustan and general of the army, reporting the news of the conquest of Benares, which was a very great achievement, and by which the army had become rich. Immense wealth had been obtained, and tribute had been exacted from the Thakurs. Several elephants had also been taken. His majesty's servants wrote these letters from Indar-dar-band<sup>1</sup>, and were returning towards Lahore very happy : what had passed they had reported.<sup>2</sup>

### *Tilak the Hindu appointed General<sup>3</sup>*

One day the Amir went to the garden of Sadhazara with the intention of staying there a week, and all necessary furniture was taken. In this interval letters were constantly arriving with the information of Ahmad Nialtigin having reached Lahore with the Turkomans, and that numerous turbulent fellows of Lahore, from all classes of people, had flocked around him, and that if his proceedings were not soon taken notice of, the affair would reach an awkward length, for his power and dignity were increasing every day. The Amir, in the garden of Sadhazara, convened a private council of the commander-in-chief and the generals and officers of the army,<sup>4</sup> and asked their opinions as to what ought to be done in order to extinguish the fire of this rebellious general so that their hearts might be relieved of all concern on his account. The commander-in-chief said, "When one runs away from Ahmad there

<sup>1</sup> [This is the reading of Morley's edition. Sir H. Elliot's MSS. have Indar-bedi.]

<sup>2</sup> [Here occurs the lacuna mentioned in the Bibliographical notice.]

<sup>3</sup> [Pages 500 to 503 of the Text.]

<sup>4</sup> [Khwaja Ahmad, the wazir, was absent on a journey.]

cannot be much honour left, but whatever general is sent against him, he will have enough to do, for there is a strong force at Lahore. If my lord orders me to go, I can set out in a week, although the weather is very hot." The Amir observed, "It is wrong and impossible for you to go on such an insignificant duty, because there are disturbances in Khurasan, and insurrections have also broken out in Khatlan and Tukharistan. Our minister has gone there and he is sufficient, yet as the autumn has passed, it is expedient for me to march to Bust or Balkh, and you must accompany my standard. We will send a general, to Sind it may be." The commander-in-chief said, "It is for my lord to order, the generals and officers are present here in your council, and others are at the court; whom do you order to go." Tilak Hindu said, "May my lord's life be prolonged ! Be pleased to let me go and perform this service that I may make some return for favours received and obligations incurred. Besides, I am a native of Hindustan, the weather is hot, and I can travel in that country with greater ease. If your high wisdom deems me fit for this service, I will not fail." The Amir admired him for the readiness he thus showed; and asked those who were present for their opinions. They replied, he was a famous man and was fit for any duty, for he had a sword, equipments, and men, and as he had received the royal favour he might accomplish the object. The Amir told his councillors to retire and leave him to consider about it. So they left. The Amir said to his private councillors, "None of these officers have their hearts in the business, and in fact they have not exhibited their wonted devotion. So Tilak, perhaps, felt ashamed and stepped forward." The Amir sent a Persian secretary to Tilak, secretly, with many kind messages, saying, "I am fully alive to what you have said and have promised to perform, but the people around me did not at all like it. You have shamed them all, and your words shall be proved true, for to-morrow you shall be named for the service. I will do whatever is possible in this matter, and I will give you much money, a strong force, and everything necessary, so that the work may be accomplished by your

hands, and the insurrection may be put down without any thanks or obligations to these people. You shall be raised to higher rank; for these people do not at all like that I should exalt a man, but wish me to remain always dependent on them, though they do nothing. They have been greatly annoyed at your exaltation. Now you must be resolute in doing what you have said. The fault has been committed : it was manifest in their talk and observations; and what is passed cannot be recalled.” Tilak kissed the ground, and said, “If this undertaking were beyond the powers of your slave, he would not have ventured to speak with such boldness before your majesty and the assembly; what I have sought for in this matter I will accomplish. I will draw up a plan for the approval of his majesty; and I will soon set forth and overthrow that rebel.” The Persian came back and related all this. The Amir highly approved it, and ordered the writing to be sent in. The secretary devoted himself with all his heart to the execution of this mission, and laid before his majesty the detailed statement which Tilak had drawn up of his designs. The Amir then gave power to Tilak to do whatever he deemed proper, after passing Bazghurak for securing the allegiance of the Hindus. He also sent a message by the Persian to the secretary of state, directing him to draw up a farman and letters in behalf of Tilak. It was customary with Bu Nasr to write in very hyperbolical language<sup>1</sup> on all matters that he was directed to pen by the Amir himself, because he was afraid that the responsibility might fall upon him. What was to be written was drafted. The ministers of the court considered it a foolish proceeding—or as the Arab proverb says, “A shot without a shooter.”

This man (Tilak) was the cause of the death of Ahmad Nialtigin, as I will mention in its proper place. But first I must recount the history of this Tilak, showing what his origin was and how he attained to this rank. Many advantages attend the writing of such matters.

<sup>1</sup> [mubālaghati sakht jamām kardi.]

*Account of Tilak of Hind<sup>1</sup>*

This Tilak was the son of a barber, but he was handsome in face and appearance, and had an eloquent tongue. He wrote an excellent hand, both in Hindi and Persian. He had lived a long time in Kashmir, where he studied and acquired some proficiency in dissimulation, amours, and witchcraft. From thence he came to Kazi Shiraz Bu-l Hasan, who was captivated by him, for every great man who saw him was enamoured of him. \* \* \* \* The Kazi restrained him from going anywhere else; but Tilak contrived by stratagem to have his case, and the iniquity of which the Kazi was capable, reported to the great Khwaja Ahmad Hasan (may God be pleased with him). There was ill-feeling between the Khwaja and the Kazi. The Khwaja sent royal orders with three peons, and to the great disgust of the Kazi they brought Tilak to the court. Khwaja Ahmad Hasan heard what he had to say, saw the way clear before him, and took measures to have the matter brought to the notice of Amir Mahmud in such a manner that he did not know the Khwaja had contrived the means. The Amir ordered the Khwaja to hear Tilak's complaint, and the Kazi fell into great difficulty.

After this event Tilak became one of the great confidants of the Khwaja. He was made his secretary and interpreter between him and the Hindus.<sup>2</sup> Thus he acquired great influence in the minister's court, where I, says Bu-l Fazl, used to see him standing before the Khwaja, carrying and bringing messages, and managing difficult affairs. When that trouble fell on the Khwaja, which I have before mentioned, Amir Mahmud called together his servants and secretaries, in order that he might appoint the most clever to offices in his court. Tilak met with his approval, and was associated as interpreter with Bahram. He was a young man and a clever speaker. Amir Mahmud wanted

<sup>1</sup> [Pages 503 to 505.]

<sup>2</sup> [The Text has the words *hamchunan birbal badiwan-i ma*, "like Birbal in our court." These words, unless they will bear some other interpretation, would seem to apply to Akbar's officer Birbal, and if so they must be an interpolation of a later date.]

such persons. His fortune thus improved. Secretly he rendered valuable services to Sultan Mas'ud, that is, he brought all the Hindu Kators and many outsiders under his rule,<sup>1</sup> and he obtained honour from such a great king as Mahmud.

When Shah Mas'ud arrived in Balkh from Hirat and the affairs of the country were settled, Sundar, the general of the Hindus, was not in his place. He therefore promoted Tilak, and granted him a gold embroidered robe, hung a jewelled necklace of gold round his neck, and placed an army under him. Thus he obtained the name of man. A tent and an umbrella were also given to him. Kettle-drums were beaten at his quarters, according to the custom of the Hindu chiefs, and banners with gilded tops were granted. Fortune befriended him; he was elevated to such a degree as to sit among the nobles in the privy councils, and, as I have said, he was employed in important duties, until at length he undertook the command against Ahmad Nialtigin. His luck and fortune aided him, and carried him through. The Arabs say, "There is a cause for everything, and men must seek it." Wise men do not wonder at such facts, because nobody is born great—men become such. But it is important that they should leave a good name behind. This Tilak soon became a man, and had excellent qualities. All the time he lived he sustained no injury on account of being the son of a barber. But if with such a character, wisdom, and spirit, he had been of good extraction, he would have been better, for nobility and talents are both very agreeable. But nobility is good for nothing, if learning, propriety and spirit are wanting.

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### *The Rebellion of Ahmad Nialtigin in Hindustan<sup>2</sup>*

In the middle of this month (Ramzan H. 425; July 1034) letters were received from Lahore (Lahur), stating

<sup>1</sup> [hameh hinduān katur wa ba'ze rā āz biruniyān dar 'ahd-i wai.  
See Thomas' Prinsep, Vol. I, p. 317.]

<sup>2</sup> [Pages 523, 524. This and all the following Extracts from Baihaki were translated by Sir H. Elliot himself.]

that Ahmad Nialtigin had arrived there with several men; that Kazi Shiraz, with all his counsellors, had entered the fort of Mandkakur<sup>1</sup>; that there was perpetual fighting, and that the whole neighbourhood was in a state of turmoil and agitation. The Amir became exceedingly thoughtful, because his mind was troubled from three different sources, *viz.*, the Turkomans of 'Irak, Khwarizm, and Lahore, as I have already described. \* \* \* \* On Tuesday, the 'Id was celebrated, when the Amir (God be satisfied with him !) directed that great preparations should be made, and ordered trays of food to be set down, with wine, in order that the officers and men might regale themselves, which they did, and departed drunk.

The Amir also sat down to drink wine with his 'companions, when, in the middle of his happiness, while he was fully occupied with every kind of pleasure, a very important despatch was received from Lahore, stating that Ahmad Nialtigin had taken the fort; but it was reported that Tilak Hindu had collected a powerful army from every detachment and quarter, and was advancing in that direction; that the heart of that vile rebel was quaking within him, and that there was a space of only two *kos* between the two armies. The Amir read this despatch even while he was drinking, and ordered a letter to be written to Tilak Hindu, and placed in its case. He directed Tilak to proceed against Ahmad with all speed. The Amir sealed the letter, and added a postscript with his own hand, written with all the force which characterised his style, imperious, and at the same time appropriate to the person addressed. This was concealed from his confidential Diwan, and sent off with all haste.

On Thursday, the 18th of Shawwal, a despatch arrived from Gurdez<sup>2</sup> stating that General Ghazi, who was stationed in that quarter, had died.

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<sup>1</sup> [Two copies concur in this reading; a third omits the first syllable. See Elliot and Dawson, vol. i. pp. 62 and 530.]

<sup>2</sup> [A town fifty miles east of Ghazni.]

*The Cowardice of the Hindus at Kirman, and their Disgrace<sup>1</sup>*

Ahmad 'Ali Noshtigin made every kind of exertion, but the Hindus would not advance, and turned their backs in flight. The panic spread to the rest of the troops, and Ahmad was obliged to fly from the field. He, with his own troops and the royal army, returned, by way of Kain, to Naishapur. Part of the army fell back to Makran. The Hindus fled to Sistan, and thence to Ghaznin.<sup>2</sup>

I, who am Abu-l Fazl, had gone on duty to the Amir, at the Sadhazara Garden, and I saw the officers of the Hindus who had come there. The Amir ordered that they should be kept in the large house, which is used as the despatch office. Bu Sa'id, the accountant, brought several severe orders to them from the Amir, and matters went so far, that a message came to tell them they were dismissed. Six of their officers committed suicide with their daggers, so that blood was flowing in the office. I, Bu Sa'id, and others, left the place, and came and told the Amir what had happened. He said they should have used these daggers at Kirman. He treated them severely, but in the end forgave them.<sup>3</sup> After this, all went wrong, and it was not possible to send any one else to Kirman. Ahmad 'Ali Noshtigin also came to Ghaznin, and as he was ashamed and deeply grieved, no long time elapsed before he died.

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<sup>1</sup> [Page 533.]

<sup>2</sup> This was at the battle of Kirman, where they formed one-half of the cavalry force, there being 2,000 Hindus, 1,000 Turks and 1,000 Kurds and Arabs.

<sup>3</sup> The Hindus, about 100 pages after this, are represented as incurring similar disgrace near Merv, when they fled before the Turkomans; but there they were not a bit more culpable than the rest of the army, and the reason assigned was sufficient. "The Amir also summoned the Hindus and reprimanded them, when their leaders said—We are ashamed to speak before our Lord, but the fact is our men are hungry, and our horses weak, for it is now four months since any of us have eaten barley bread. Notwithstanding what has happened, as long as we live we shall not be found deficient."

*The Death of the Rebel Ahmad Nialtigin and the Sultan's Rejoicings<sup>1</sup>*

Amir Mas'ud wrote orders to Tilak to expedite matters against Ahmad Nialtigin, who should be driven from Lahore, and the Kazi and his army should leave the fort. The Kazi also was ordered to exert himself to the utmost in order that the Amir's mind might be at once relieved from anxiety on account of this rebellion. \* \* \* \* The Amir arrived at Takinabad<sup>2</sup> on the 7th of Zi-1 ka'da (A.H. 425, September 1034 A.D.) and remained there seven days, on one of which he drank wine, for he was troubled on many accounts. After that, he went to Bust for three days, and on Thursday, the 17th of this month, he arrived at the palace of Dasht-langan, where he laid out much money in gardens, buildings, and sarais.

\* \* \* \*

On Wednesday, the last day of this month, he left Bust, and while on the road messengers arrived from Tilak, bringing intelligence of his having slain the proud rebel Ahmad Nialtigin, of having taken his son prisoner, and of his having subdued the Turkomans who were with Ahmad. The Amir was exceedingly rejoiced at this news, for it relieved the anxiety of his heart. He ordered the drums to be beaten, and the clarions to be sounded; he invested the messengers with robes of honour upon their introduction, gave them plenty of money, and directed that they should be paraded through the camp.

The letters of Tilak, Kazi Shiraz, and the intelligencers were to this effect—When Tilak arrived at Lahore, he took several Musulmans prisoner, who were the friends of Ahmad, and ordered their right hands to be cut off; that the men who were with Ahmad were so terrified at this punishment and display of power, that they sued for mercy and deserted him; that the proper arrangements were then made for the conduct of affairs of Revenue and Police; that Tilak, in full confidence and power, pursued Ahmad with a large body of men, chiefly Hindus; that in

<sup>1</sup> [Pages 535 to 538.]

<sup>2</sup> [The largest town in Garmsir. See *Tabakat-i Nasiri*, post.]

the pursuit several skirmishes and actions took place; that Ahmad, the forsaken of God, kept flying before him; that Tilak had persuaded Ahmad's men to desert; that a severe engagement ensued, when Ahmad, not able to stand his ground, was defeated and took to flight; that the Turkomans left him in a body, and asked for quarter, which was given to them; that Ahmad escaped with his personal attendants, and others, amounting to three hundred horsemen in all; that Tilak did not abate his pursuit, and had written letters to the Hindu Jat rebels to desert the cause of that godless man, and to remember that whoever should bring him or his head should receive a reward of 500,000 dirhams. On this account the span of Ahmad's life was narrowed, his men deserted, and at last matters reached so far, that the Jats and every kind of infidel joined in the pursuit of him.

One day, the despatches continued, he arrived at a river on his elephant, and wished to cross it, when two or three thousand mounted Jats were close upon him, whereas he had less than two hundred horsemen with him. He plunged into the water, while the Jats were attacking him on two or three sides, chiefly for the purpose of seizing his property and money. When they reached him, he attempted to kill his son with his own hand, but the Jats prevented him, and carried off the son, who was on an elephant, and then fell upon Ahmad himself, with arrow, spear, and sword. He defended himself most gallantly, but they at last killed him and cut off his head. They killed or took captive all who were with him, and immense wealth fell into the hands of those Jats. Their chief sent some messengers from the spot to Tilak, who was not far off, to convey intelligence of what had happened. Tilak was greatly delighted, and despatched some men to demand the son and the head of Ahmad; but the Jats asked for the reward of 500,000 dirhams. Tilak replied that the immense wealth which belonged to Ahmad had fallen into their hands, and they ought to forego their demand. Twice messengers went backwards and forwards upon this errand, and at last it was agreed that they should receive 100,000 dirhams. When this sum was sent to them they brought

the head and the son of Ahmad to Tilak, who having obtained his object returned to Lahore to complete his arrangements for the management of the country, and then to hasten to court with all expedition, God willing.

The Amir ordered congratulatory answers to be written, expressed his obligations to Tilak and the others, and praised them for their conduct. He sent the couriers back, and ordered Tilak to come to court with the head and the son of Ahmad Nialtigin.

Such is the end of the perfidious and disobedient ! From the time of Adam (peace be with him !) to this day, it has so happened that no servant has rebelled against his master who has not lost his head; and since it is written in books, there is no occasion to make a long story about it.

The Amir wrote letters on this subject to his nobles and officers, and despatched messengers to different parts of the country to proclaim this very great victory.<sup>1</sup>

The Amir arrived at Hirat on Thursday, the middle of Zi-1 hijja.

\* \* \* \* \*

### *Prince Majdud appointed Governor of Hindustan<sup>2</sup>*

On Saturday, the 6th of Zi-1 ka'da, the Prince Amir Majdud, who was appointed governor (Amir) of Hindustan, received a khil'at before his departure for Lahore. It was such a one as befitted a governor, especially one who was son of such a king. Three chamberlains were appointed, with their attendants; Mansur, son of Bu-1 Kasam 'Ali Noki of our office, was appointed to be his secretary, Sa'd Salman to be accountant and treasurer, and Sarhang Muhammad to be paymaster of the troops. A drum, a standard, and a kettle-drum, an elephant and

<sup>1</sup> A few pages after this we find the minister Khwaja-buzurg Ahmad 'Abdu-s Samad stating at a council, that, notwithstanding the death of Ahmad Nialtigin, Hindustan was still in so disaffected a state that he considered it imprudent that the Sultan should enter upon an expedition against the Turkomans.

<sup>2</sup> [Page 622.]

seat were bestowed on the Prince, and the next day he went by appointment to visit his father in the Firozi garden. The Sultan embraced him, and gave him a dress upon taking his leave. So he went on his way, and took with him Rashid, the son of Khwarizm Shah, that he might be kept under surveillance in the city of Lahore.

\* \* \* \*

*Prince Maudud appointed Governor of Balkh<sup>1</sup>*

Trays of food were put down in abundance, and they drank wine. On the next day, a khil'at was given to Amir Maudud, such as he had not received before, for it comprised a kettle-drum, standards, a tymbal, and a tabor, and the Sultan made over to him the country of Balkh, and issued a patent to that effect; so the Prince returned with all these honours to his residence, which was the sarai of Arslan Jazib, and the Sultan ordered all the nobles and officers to pay him their visits there, and they accordingly showed him such honour as had never been shown before.

*The Sultan determines to take the Fort of Hansi—His Consultation with the Nobles<sup>2</sup>*

On another day of the 'Id, the public audience being dissolved, the minister, the commander-in-chief, the 'Ariz, my preceptor, and the chamberlains Bagtaghdi and Bu'l Nasr, were told to remain, and the conversation turned upon the direction in which the Sultan ought to march. These counsellors observed, "Let our lord explain to his servants what his own reflections are, for his opinion is probably the soundest; then will we speak what we know on the subject."

The Amir replied, "At the time that I was attacked by my illness at Bust, I made a vow that, if Almighty God would restore me to health, I would go to Hindustan, and take the fort of Hansi; for, from the time that I returned from that place without accomplishing my object, my heart has been filled with vexation, and so it still remains. The distance is not very great, and I have determined to go

<sup>1</sup> [Page 660.]

<sup>2</sup> [Pages 660 to 664.]

there, for I have sent my son Maudud to Balkh, and the Khwaja, and the commander-in-chief will accompany him with large armies. The Chamberlain Sabashi is at Merv with a powerful army, so that the Turkomans dare not make inroads upon the inhabited tracts. Suri also is at Naishapur with an army. Tus, Kohistan, Hirat, Ghurjistan, and other places are well garrisoned, so that there can be no disturbance, rebellion, or other obstacle from Khurasan; and if there should, you all of you, one with the other, are at hand, and can arrive at the spot immediately. The sons of 'Ali Tigin and the Katwal are quiet in their several places; 'Abdu-s Salam is near them and has bound them by strong engagements, as Bu Suhal Hamaduni has written. The son of Kaku is possessed of no power, and his men can do nothing, and the Turkomans place no reliance in his promises, so that on that side also there can be no obstacle. I will at once relieve my neck of the burden of this vow, for until I have taken the fort of Hansi, I can undertake no other expedition. I can come back in time to be at Ghazni by New Year's Day. I have thought well over the business, and I must of necessity carry my plans into effect. Now do you tell me without fear what you think on the matter."

The minister looked round the assembly and asked what they had to say on the subject on which their master had addressed them. The commander-in-chief replied, "I and those who are like me wield the sword and obey the orders of the Sultan. We are ready to go to wherever we are ordered, and lay down our lives for his sake. The evil and the good of these matters the great Khwaja knows, for they are included amongst the difficult questions of Government, and we cannot tell what he wishes, hears, knows, and sees. This is the business of the minister, not ours." Then he turned his face towards the chamberlains and said, "You are doubtless of my opinion," to which they replied, "We are."

The minister then said to the 'Ariz and Bu Nasr : "The commander-in-chief and the chamberlains have laid the responsibility on my neck and freed themselves from it. What say you?" The 'Ariz, who was a man of few words,

said, "I am not able to say anything better than what has been advanced. My own business is difficult enough to occupy all my time." Bu Nasr Mishkan said, "It appears that this matter is devolved upon the responsibility of the great Khwaja. It is necessary to speak with great deliberation, for our lord calls upon us to do so." The minister said, "He has been graciously pleased to tell us to speak out without hypocrisy. Therefore I give it as my opinion, that he should on no account go to Hindustan. It is not expedient that he should stay even at Balkh, but proceed to Merv, and after the Sultan has subdued Re, Khurasan, and the Jabbal (hills), he should then fulfil his vow. If his intention is to conquer Hansi, the chief of the Ghazis, the army of Lahore, and a chamberlain deputed by the court might undertake the business, and thus the intention might be fulfilled, and Khurasan be secured at the same time. If my lord should not go to Khurasan, if the Turkomans should conquer a province, or if they should conquer even a village, and do that which they are accustomed to do, namely, mutilate, slaughter, and burn, then ten holy wars at Hansi would not compensate. These evils have actually occurred, for they are already at A'mul,<sup>1</sup> and still it is considered more expedient to go to Hindustan ! I have now said what seemed to me best, and have relieved myself from all responsibility. The Sultan can do as he pleases."

My preceptor said, "I agree entirely, and may add this to aid the argument. If my lord sees proper, let him send some persons secretly about the camp amongst the people and amongst the nobles, and let them ascertain the general opinion, let them mention the present perturbed state of Khurasan, Khwarizm, Re, and the Jabbal, and let them say that the Sultan is going to Hansi, and then let them ask whether this is proper or not proper. Your slave feels confident that they will all say it is not proper. The people will give their opinions freely, when they are told that it is the desire of the Sultan that they should do so without reserve."

<sup>1</sup> [A town on the Oxus. The river is also known by the name of 'Amul or Amu.]

The Amir replied, "Your friendship and good advice are unquestionable. The vow is upon my neck, and accomplish it I will, in my own person. If any great disturbance should arise in Khurasan, I rely upon Almighty God to set it all to rights." The minister replied, "As it is so we must do whatever men can do. I only trust that during this absence no difficulty may arise."

He then went away, and the rest also went away after making their obeisances. When they had gone out, they went aside to a private spot, and exclaimed, "This lord of ours is very obstinate, beyond all bounds and degrees. No one could have spoken more openly than we have done, and one could not have done more so without being disrespectful; and as for what he said about Almighty God ! we shall see"; and then they separated.

On Thursday, the middle of Zi-1 hijja, the commander-in-chief, 'Ali, was invested with a very superb robe of honour, for which he came forward and paid his respects. The Amir praised and flattered him, and said, "The confidence of my son, my minister, and my army, reposes upon you. The Khwaja will remain with you as my vicegerent. To give good advice and find pay for the army, is his business; discipline and fighting is yours. You must attend to his orders, and all of you should have but one hand, one heart, one opinion; so that no interruption to business may arise during my absence." The commander of the forces kissed the earth and said, "Your slave will obey your orders implicitly," and departed.

On Saturday, the 17th of this month, a very handsome khil'at was bestowed upon the minister, according to the usual value, and even much more than that, because the Sultan was anxious in every respect to maintain a good understanding with him, seeing that he was to conduct the affairs of State during his absence. When he came forward the Amir said, "May this robe be auspicious, as also this confidence which I repose in you during my expedition to Hindustan. May the grace of God rest with the Khwaja. I have made a vow, and that vow I must needs fulfil. To him I have made over, first, my son, then, the commander, and the whole army which remains

here, and all should be obedient to his orders." The minister replied, "Your slave is ready to discharge all obligations of his service." He then retired, after having been treated with very great distinction.

*The Sultan leaves Ghazni—Falls Ill, and Forswears Drinking<sup>1</sup>*

On Monday, the 19th of Zi-1 hijja, the Amir rose early, and went to the Firozi garden, that he might see the different detachments of his army pass by in review; and afterwards, about mid-day prayers, those three precious individuals, his son, the minister, and the commander, came on foot, and paid him their respects and then went away. He appointed Khwaja Bu Nasr Noki, my preceptor, to be in attendance on him, and an order went to the minister to this effect.

At last, on Thursday, when eight days of Zi-1 hijja remained, the Amir (God be satisfied with him !) departed from Ghazni on his way to Hindustan, by the road of Kabul, to prosecute his holy war against Hansi. He remained ten days at Kabul. The first day of Muharram, A.H. 429 (14th Oct., 1037), fell on a Saturday.

On Thursday, the 6th of Muharram, he left Kabul, and on Saturday the 8th despatches arrived from Khurasan and Re, all of them important; but the Amir cared nothing for them, and told my preceptor to write a letter to the minister and enclose these despatches in the same case, for that the minister knew all about the matter, and would do all that was necessary in every respect; adding, "I myself am not well acquainted with the subject."

On Tuesday, when five days of Muharram remained, the Amir arrived at the Jailam, and encamped on the banks of that river near Dinarkotah. Here he fell ill, and remained sick for fourteen days, and got no better. So in a fit of repentance he forswore wine, and ordered his servants to throw all his supply of it, which they had in store, into the Jailam, and to destroy all his other instruments of frivolity. No one dared to drink wine openly,

<sup>1</sup> [Page 684.]

for the officers and censors who were appointed to superintend this matter carried their orders strictly into effect.

Bu Sa'id Mushrif was sent on an expedition against Chakki<sup>1</sup> Hindu, to a fort about which no one knew anything. We were still on the Jailam, when news arrived of the great Rai and the state of the roads to Kashmir, and we were still there when intelligence reached us of the death of the Rai of Kashmir.

*The Sultan takes the Fort of Hansi<sup>2</sup>*

On Saturday, the 14th of Safar, the Amir had recovered, and held a darbar, and on Tuesday the 17th, he left the Jailam, and arrived at the fort of Hansi on Wednesday, the 9th of Rabi'u-l awwal, and pitched his camp under the fort, which he invested. Fights were constantly taking place in a manner that could not be exceeded for their severity. The garrison made desperate attempts at defence, and relaxed no effort. In the victorious army the slaves of the household behaved very gallantly, and such a virgin fort was worthy of their valour. At last, mines were sprung in five places, and the wall was brought down, and the fort was stormed by the sword on Monday, ten days before the close of Rabi'u-l awwal. The Brahmans and other higher men were slain, and their women and children were carried away captive, and all the treasure which was found was divided amongst the army. The fort was known in Hindustan as "The Virgin," as no one yet had been able to take it.

*The Sultan returns to Ghaznin<sup>3</sup>*

On Saturday, when five days remained of this month, he left Hansi, and returned to Ghaznin on Sunday, the 3rd of Jumada-l awwal. He came through the pass of Sakawand, where so much snow had fallen, that it was beyond all calculation. Letters had been sent to Bu 'Ali,

<sup>1</sup> In allusion to one of the Chak tribe apparently once so powerful in Kashmir.

<sup>2</sup> [Page 665.]

<sup>3</sup> [Page 665.]

the Kotwal, to send out some men to clear the road, and if they had not done so, it would have been impossible to pass it. It is all one ravine, like a street, from the caravanserai of Muhammed Salman to the city. For the three last days before entering the city, snow fell uninterruptedly. Amir Sa'id, the Kotwal, the principal inhabitants, and others, came out two or three stages to meet him. The Amir alighted at the old palace of Mahmud and stayed there one week, until the carpets were laid down in the new palace, and the decorations for his reception<sup>1</sup> were prepared, when he went and remained there. The commanders and officers of the garrison of the five forts returned also to Ghaznin. Ever since I have served this great family, I have never seen such a winter as there was this year at Ghaznin. I am now worn out, for it is twenty years that I have been here, but please God ! through the munificence of the exalted Sultan Ibrahim, defender of the faith (may his dominion last for ever !) I shall again be restored to what I was then.

On Tuesday, the 3rd of Jumada-l awwal, the Amir celebrated the festival of New Year's Day, when the lower classes presented their offerings, and were received kindly by the Amir. A drinking bout was also held, in which he repaid himself for his past abstinence, for, from the time of his repentance on the Jailam to this day, he had drunk nothing.

### *Misfortunes in Khurasan and Re<sup>2</sup>*

On Tuesday, the 3rd of Jumada-l akhir, very important despatches arrived from Khurasan and Re, stating that during his absence the Turkomans, at the beginning of the winter, had come down and plundered Talikan and Fariyab,<sup>3</sup> and misfortunes had fallen on other places which

<sup>1</sup> The word used is *āzin*, signifying "a temporary arch or structure, on which boughs and flowers are arranged, to celebrate the entry of a Prince into a city."

<sup>2</sup> [Page 666.]

<sup>3</sup> [According to Ibn Haukal, who is followed by Abu-l Fida and the Marasidu-l Ittila, Talikan is between Merv and Balkh at three days' journey from Merv—Fariyab is a city west of the Oxus in Juzjan six days journey from Balkh. There is a Talikhan in the maps east of Kunduz, but this is not the place intended.]

it was impossible for the victorious armies to reach at such a season. All this had befallen on account of the Sultan's expedition to Hansi. It was beyond endurance. Re itself was in a state of siege. The Amir was ashamed of his having gone to Hindustan, from which he had derived no advantage, for no one can oppose the desires of God. He ordered answers to be written, telling his officers to keep up their courage, for as soon as ever the weather was fair, the royal standards would advance.

On Saturday, the middle of this month, Amir Maudud and 'Ali, the commander of the forces, came to Ghaznin from Balkh, where the minister remained according to order, for he had many important matters there to occupy his attention.

*'Abdu-r Razzak appointed Governor of Peshawar<sup>1</sup>*

On Wednesday, the 23rd of Rajab, 'Abdu-r Razzak was invested with a robe of honour on his appointment to the government of Pershaur<sup>2</sup> and received his orders, and ten military<sup>3</sup> slaves of the household were appointed as his chamberlains. The office of preceptor and a khil'at was bestowed on Suhal 'Abdul Malik, a man admirably adapted for the situation; he was born in the household of Ahmad Mikail, and was a long time in the service also of Bu Suhal Hamaduni. The governor departed for Pershaur, on Tuesday, the 9th of this month, in great state, and took with him two hundred slaves.

*Punishment of Hindu Elephant-riders<sup>4</sup>*

The Amir celebrated the festival of the new year on Wednesday, the 8th of Jumada-l akhir (430 H., March 1039 A.D.). On Friday, the 10th of this month, news arrived that Daud had reached Talikan with a powerful and well-equipped army. On Thursday, the 16th of this month, further news was received, that he had reached Fariyab,

<sup>1</sup> [Page 666.]

<sup>2</sup> Peshawar.

<sup>3</sup> One copy says "black."

<sup>4</sup> [Page 708.]

and from that had been summoned in haste to Saburkan<sup>1</sup> and that plunder and massacre had attended him wherever he went. On Saturday, the 18th of this month, ten Turkoman horsemen came during the night near the garden of the Sultan for the purpose of plunder, and killed four Hindu foot soldiers, and retreated to the neighbourhood of Kunduz, where the elephants were stabled, and after looking about them intently, they found a boy asleep on the neck of an elephant. The Turkomans came up and began to drive the elephant away, the boy sleeping all the while. When they had gone as far as a parasang beyond the city, they awoke the boy, and threatened to kill him if he would not drive the elephant quickly, which he agreed to do. The horsemen rode behind the elephant, brandished their spears, and goaded the animal on. By the morning, they had travelled a good distance, and reached Saburkan, where Daud rewarded the horsemen, and told them to take the animal to Naishapur. Great discredit was incurred by this affair, for it was said, "Is there so much neglect amongst these men that they allow an elephant to be driven off?" Next day, it was reported to the Amir, who was exceedingly vexed, and severely rebuked the drivers, and ordered one hundred thousand dirhams, the price of the animal, to be recovered from them. Some of the Hindu<sup>2</sup> elephant-riders were chastised. On Monday, the 20th of this month, Alti Salman, the chamberlain of Daud, arrived with two thousand horsemen at the gates of Balkh, encamping at the place, which is called "the infidels' embankment," and plundered two villages, at which the Amir was greatly annoyed.

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<sup>1</sup> ["Shibbergan" of Thornton's Map, west of Balkh. Ibn Haukal's reading seems to be "Shaburkan."—*Jour. As. Soc., Bengal, xxii*, p. 186.]

<sup>2</sup> A curious change has occurred in this respect. There are no Hindu elephant-riders in the Muhammadan parts of India. They are now almost invariably Saiyids, or if not Saiyids, are addressed as "Mir Sahib" for their position is one of honour, being seated in front with their backs to potentates and grandees.

*The Author out of Employ<sup>1</sup>*

Just now, in the year 451 H. (1059 A.D.) I am residing in my own house by command of my exalted master, the most puissant Sultan Abu-l Muzaffar Ibrahim (may God lengthen his life and protect his friends !) waiting for the period when I may again be called before the throne. It is said that a service subject to the fluctuations of rising and falling will probably be permanent, but that which smoothly jogs on is liable on a sudden to incur the whims or rancour of one's master. God preserve us from fickleness and vicissitude !

*Prince Maudud proceeds to his Government<sup>2</sup>*

The Amir (God's satisfaction rest on him !) held an audience, and when the minister and nobles had taken their places, Khwaja Mas'ud was introduced, and after paying his respects, stood before the Amir, who said, "I have appointed you tutor to my son Maudud. Be on the alert and obey the orders which the Khwaja gives you." Mas'ud replied, "Your slave obeys." He then kissed the ground and departed, after being received with distinguished honour. He lost not a moment in going to Amir Maudud, to whom he was introduced by the same parties who presented him at court. Amir Maudud treated him with great kindness, and then Mas'ud went to the house of the minister, who received his son-in-law very graciously.

On Sunday, the tenth of Muharram (432 H., Sept. 1040 A.D.) Amir Maudud, the minister, the chamberlains Badar and Irtigin, received each a very valuable khil'at such as were never remembered to have been given before at any time. They came forward, and retired after paying their respects. Amir Maudud received two elephants, male and female, a drum and tymbal, and other things suited to his rank, and very much more, and the others in like manner, and thus their business was brought to a close.

On Tuesday, the 12th of the month, the Amir went to the Firozi Garden, and sat in the green pavilion, on the Golden Plain. That edifice was not then as it is now. A

<sup>1</sup> [Page 823.]

<sup>2</sup> [Page 823.]

sumptuous feast was ordered to be prepared, and messes of pottage were placed round. The Amir Maudud and the minister came and sat down, and the army passed in review before them. First passed the star of Amir Maudud, the canopy, flaunting standards, and two hundred slaves of the household, with jackets of mail and spears, and many led horses and camels, and infantry with their banners displayed, and a hundred and seventy slaves fully armed and equipped, with all their stars borne before them. After them came Irtigin the chamberlain, and his slaves, amounting to eighty. After them followed the military slaves of the household, amounting to fifty, preceded by twenty officers beautifully accoutred, with many led horses and camels. After them came some other officers gaily decorated, until all had passed.

It was now near mid-day prayer, when the Amir ordered his son, the minister, the chief chamberlain Irtigin, and the officers to sit down to the feast. He himself sat down, and ate bread, and then they all took their leave, and departed. "It was the last time they looked on that king (God's mercy on him !)."

### *The Sultan has a Drinking Party<sup>1</sup>*

After their departure, the Amir said to 'Abdu-r Razzak, "What say you, shall we drink a little wine ?" He replied, "When can we better drink than on such a day as this, when my lord is happy, and my lord's son has attained his wish, and departed with the minister and officers : especially after eating such a dinner as this ?" The Amir said, "Let us commence without ceremony, for we have come into the country, and we will drink in the Firozi Garden." Accordingly much wine was brought immediately from the pavilion into the garden, and fifty goblets and flagons were placed in the middle of a small tent. The goblets were sent round and the Amir said : "Let us keep fair measure, and fill the cups evenly, in order that there may be no unfairness." Each goblet contained half a *man*. They began to get jolly, and the minstrels sang. Bu-l Hasan drank five goblets, his head

<sup>1</sup> [Page 825.]

was affected at the sixth, he lost his senses at the seventh, and began to vomit at the eighth, when the servants carried him off. Bu-l 'Alā, the physician, dropped his head at the fifth cup, and he also was carried off. Khalil Daud drank ten; Siyabiruz nine; and both were borne away to the Hill of Dailaman. Bu Na'im drank twelve, and ran off. Daud Maimandi fell down drunk, and the singers and buffoons all rolled off tipsy, when the Sultan and Khwaja 'Abdu-r Razzak alone remained. When the Khwaja had drunk eighteen cups, he made his obeisance and prepared to go, saying to the Amir, "If you give your slave any more, he will lose his respect for your majesty, as well as his own wits." The Amir laughed and gave him leave to go; when he got up and departed in a most respectful manner. After this, the Amir kept on drinking and enjoying himself. He drank twenty-seven full goblets of half a *man* each. He then arose, called for a basin of water and his praying carpet, washed his face, and read the mid-day prayers as well as the afternoon ones, and so acquitted himself, that you would have said he had not drunk a single cup. He then got on an elephant and returned to the palace. I witnessed the whole of this scene with mine own eyes—I, Abu-l Fazl.

On the 19th, Bu 'Ali Kotwal left Ghaznin with a strong army on an expedition against the Khilj, who had been very turbulent during the Amir's absence, and he was ordered to bring them to terms, or attack them.

### *Bu Suhal Hamaduni*<sup>1</sup>

After the departure of the minister, all State business was referred to Bu Suhal Hamaduni, who had an exceeding aversion to the work, and avoided giving his own opinion by referring everything to the minister. He called on me at every private audience and consultation, to testify what the objections of the minister were, for I was present at all of them. He carried his dislike to the administrative business so far, and he was so hesitating in his opinion, that one day, at a private audience, when I was present standing, the Amir said, "The country of Balkh and

<sup>1</sup> [Page 826.]

Tukharistan should be given to Portigin, that he may go there with the army of Mawarau-n Nahr and fight against the Turkomans." Bu Suhal replied, "It would be proper to address the minister on this subject." The Amir said : " You throw off everything upon him, and his sentiments are well known on the subject." He then directed me on the spot to write the orders and letters, and sealed them, saying, " You must give them to a horseman to deliver." I said, " I obey." Bu Suhal then said : " It certainly would be right to send the horseman to the minister first, and to hold back the order so that he may send it off." I agreed, and went away. It was then written to the great Khwaja, that the Sultan had given such and such foolish commands, and that the Khwaja knew best what orders to issue. Bu Suhal told me that his intention was to relieve himself of responsibility, as he could not participate in such injudicious counsels and sentiments. I wrote in cypher to the minister, and told him all that had happened, and the horseman was despatched. When he reached the Khwaja, the Khwaja detained him as well as the order, since he considered it injudicious, and he sent me a sealed answer by the hands of the Sikkadar, or seal-bearer.

### *Reception of Prince Muhammad and his Sons<sup>1</sup>*

On Monday, the 1st of Safar, Prince Yazdyar came from Naghar<sup>2</sup> to Ghaznin, had an interview with the Amir, and returned. During the night Amir Muhammad was brought from the fort of Naghar, accompanied by this prince, and was carried to the fort of Ghaznin, and Sankoi, the chief jailer, was appointed to guard him. The four sons of Muhammad, who also were brought away with him, namely, Ahmad, 'Abdu-r Rahman, 'Umar, and 'Usman, were placed in the Green Pavilion in the Firozi Garden.

Next day, the Amir drank wine from early morning, and about breakfast time sent for me and said : " Go quietly to the sons of Muhammad, and engage them by

<sup>1</sup> [Page 826.]

<sup>2</sup> [Sir H. Elliot read the name "Naghz" and the *Marasidu-l Ittila* gives this as the name of a city in Sind; but the printed text has "Naghar," which probably means the fort of Nagarkot.]

strong oaths to remain faithful to me, and to offer no opposition. Take great care in this business, and after you have accomplished this, affect their hearts warmly in my favour, and order robes of honour to be put on them. Do you then return to me, when I will send the son of Sankoi to bring them to the apartments prepared for them in the Sharistan."<sup>1</sup>

I went to the Green Pavilion in the Firozi Garden, where they were. Each of them had on a coarse old cotton garment, and was in low spirits. When I delivered my message, they fell on the ground and were extravagantly delighted. I wrote out the oaths binding them to allegiance, which they read out aloud, and after subscribing their names, they delivered the document to me. The robes were then brought, consisting of valuable frocks of Saklatun<sup>2</sup> of various colours, and turbans of fine linen, which they put on within their apartment, and then they came out with red boots on, and sat down. Valuable horses were also brought forward with golden caparisons.

I returned to the Amir, and told him what had transpired. He said : "Write a letter to my brother, and tell him I have done such things respecting his sons. I have enlisted them in my service, and mean to keep them near me, that they may come into my views, and that I may marry them to my children who have their heads covered (daughters), in order that our reconciliation may be evident." He addressed him as "the Amir, my illustrious brother." When the letter was written, he put his seal to it, and gave it to Sankoi, saying : "Send it to your son," which he promised to do.

Next day, the nephews of the Sultan came with their turbans on, and paid their respects, when the Amir sent them to the wardrobe chamber, that they might be clothed with golden frocks, caps with four feathers, and golden waistbands. Valuable horses, one thousand dinars, and twenty pieces of cloth, were presented to each, and they

<sup>1</sup> A suburban villa.

<sup>2</sup> Usually translated as "scarlet cloth," being the origin of our word "scarlet" but this cannot be correct here, as the Saklatun is described as of various colours.

returned to their apartments. An agent was appointed to attend them, and pensions were assigned to them. They came twice every day, and once at night, to pay their respects. Hurra-i Gauhar was at once betrothed to Amir Ahmad, preparatory to the betrothal of the others; but the nuptials were not then celebrated.

*The Sultan determines to go to Hindustan—His Perverseness—The Consultation of the Nobles—The Author's Concern in these Transactions<sup>1</sup>*

Orders were despatched with the utmost secrecy to the confidential servants of the Amir, to pack up everything he had at Ghaznin—gold, and dirhams, and robes, and jewels, and other property, and the work was commenced on. He sent a message to his mother, sisters, daughters, aunts, and freed slaves, to prepare themselves for a journey to Hindustan, and to leave nothing behind at Ghaznin on which they might set their hearts. They had to set all in order for that purpose, whether they would or no. They asked Hurra Khutali, the mother of the Sultan, to interpose in the matter, but she replied, that any one who wished to fall into the hands of the enemy might remain behind at Ghaznin; so no one dared to say a word. The Amir began to distribute the camels, and passed the greater part of the day in private audience with Mansur Mustaufi on the subject of providing camels for his great treasures, his officers, and his army. They asked me privately, "What is all this about?" but no one dared say a word.

One day, Bu Suhal Hamaduni and Bu-l Kasim Kasir said, "The minister should be consulted on this matter, and some one should be deputed to call him back"; but no one would take the initiative in writing to him, so long as he was absent from the Amir. It so happened that, next day, the Amir ordered a letter to be despatched to the minister, telling him, "I have determined to go to Hindustan, and pass the winter in Waihind, and Marminara, and Barshur (Peshwar) and Kiri, and to take up my quarters in those parts away from the capital. It is proper

<sup>1</sup> [Page 828.]

that you should remain where you are, till I arrive at Barshur and a letter reaches you, when you must go to Tukharistan, and remain there during the winter, or even go to Balkh if you can, to overthrow my enemies." This letter was written and despatched. I wrote at the same time, in cypher, a full explanation how my master was alarmed at the mere anticipation of danger, and would not draw rein till he reached Lahore, for that letters had privately been despatched there to prepare everything for his reception, and that it appeared to me that he would not rest even at Lahore; that none of the ladies of the household were left at Ghaznin, nor any of the treasure, and that the officers and army which were left had neither hand nor foot to use, and were in great alarm; that the hopes of all rested on him, the great Khwaja; that he should take every care to oppose this dangerous resolution, and that he should write distinctly, as he could act with very much greater effect than we could to prevent the mischief. To the officers also I wrote in cypher such and such things, and I said, "We are all here of the very same opinion. Please God ! that sage old adviser, the minister, will write a reply at length, and rouse our king from his lethargy."

I received an answer to this letter, and, praised be God ! it was written in terms awfully plain,<sup>1</sup> and the minister discharged every arrow from his quiver. He said distinctly, "If my lord departs from the capital, the enemy will fight at the very gates of Balkh, and your majesty will not be able to enter the city, for the people are already so ill-disposed, that they are leaving the city and fighting against us. If your majesty gives orders, your slave will go and drive the enemy from those parts. Why should my lord go towards Hindustan ? He should remain this winter at Ghaznin, for, God be praised ! there is no cause for alarm, as your slave has despatched Portigin against this people, and he will arrive shortly. Know of a surety, that if my lord goes to Hindustan with the ladies of the household and treasure, when the news gets abroad amongst friends and enemies, calamity will

<sup>1</sup> ["Sukhanhae haul"—a curious anticipation of the English school-boy's use of the word "awful."]

befall him, for every one is desirous of increasing his own power. Besides, I have no such confidence in the Hindus, as to trust my lord's ladies and treasures to their land. I have no very high opinion of the fidelity of the Hindus, and what confidence has my lord in his other servants, that he should show his treasure to them in the desert ? My lord has already seen the result of his excessive obstinacy, and this opinion of his obstinate disposition is entertained by all. But if, which God forbid ! he should depart, the hearts of his subjects will be broken. His slave has given this advice, and discharged the obligations of gratitude and relieved himself of further responsibility. My lord can do as he sees best."

When the Amir had read this address, he immediately said to me, "This man has become a dotard, and does not know what he says. Write an answer and say, 'that is right which I have determined on. I am ready to acknowledge that you have written according to the dictates of affection for me, but you must wait for further orders, which will explain my resolution; for that which I see you cannot see.'"

The answer was written, and when all knew it, they sorrowed without hope, and began to prepare for their departure. Bu 'Ali Kotwal returned from the Khilj<sup>1</sup> expedition, having adjusted matters. On Monday, the 1st of Rabi'u-l Awwal, he had an interview with the Amir, was kindly received, and returned.

Next day, he had a private audience with the Amir; they read mid-day prayers, and it was soon learnt that the Amir had made over to him the city, fort, and environs of Ghaznin. He said : "I will return by the spring. Take great care that no evil befalls the city, for my son Maudud, the minister, and a large army will be away. Whatever may happen during the winter, in the spring I will settle the matter in another fashion. The astrologers have declared that my star is not propitious during this winter."

<sup>1</sup> The original says "Balkh," but "Khilj" must be meant, as it was before represented that the Kotwal was sent against that people. The Amir as well as the minister have already spoken about sending Portigin to Balkh.

The Kotwal replied, "To secure the ladies and treasure in strong forts is preferable to carrying them into the plains of Hindustan." The Amir rejoined, "I have determined that they shall remain with me, and may Almighty God grant us all peace, welfare, and success during this journey!" He then went away.

At the time of afternoon prayers, the officers of the army went and sat with the Kotwal, and held a long conversation, but it was of no avail. God only knew the secret of what was to happen. They said, "To-morrow we will throw the stone again, and see what will come of it." The Kotwal observed, "Although there is no use in it, and it is very vexatious to the Amir, yet it will be proper to make another attempt."

Next day, the Amir held a private audience after the Darbar with Mansur Mustaufi, and said he still wanted several camels to enable him to go, but they were not procurable, and he was much vexed at it. The chiefs came to the Darbar, and 'Abdu-l Jalil, the son of Khwaja 'Abdu-r Razzak, sat amongst them and said, "I cannot stay to hear any ridiculous suggestions," and went away.

They then came down to the Iron Gate and sat in the room with four projecting windows, and sent to me to say, they had a message for the Sultan, which I was to deliver quickly. I went and found the Amir sitting in his winter apartment, alone with Mansur Mustaufi, and Aghaji at the door. I sent in to announce my arrival, and the Amir said, "I know he has brought a formidable remonstrance; let him come in and tell me." I came back to them, and said, "A holy man tells no lies to his lord, yet, though he never heard my message, he said you have brought a handful of nonsense." They said, "We must at any rate cast this responsibility from our own shoulders." So they stood and dictated a long message to me, to the same effect as the minister had written, and even plainer. I said, "I have not ability sufficient to remember every particular in the order in which you dictate; it is better that you should write, for when it is written, he must necessarily read the whole." They said, "You have spoken well." So I took a pen, and wrote most fully, while they

stood by suggesting improvements. They then wrote their signatures at the bottom, attesting that this was their message.

I took it to the Amir and stood while he read it over twice, deliberately. He then said, "Should the enemy make their appearance here, let Bu-l Kasim Kasir give up to them the wealth he has, and he may obtain from them the appointment of 'Ariz. Let Bu Suhal Hamaduni, who also has wealth, do likewise, and he may be appointed minister. Tahir Bu-l Hasan, in like manner. I am doing what is right in my own estimation. You may return and deliver this short reply."

So I came, and repeated all that I heard, when all were thrown into despair and distraction. The Kotwal said, "What did he say about me?" I replied, "I declare to God that he said nothing about you." So they arose, saying : "We have done all that we were bound to do, we have nothing further to advance," and departed. Four days subsequent, the Amir commenced his march.

Now this volume has been brought to a conclusion. Up to this I have written the history of the king's going towards Hindustan, and there I have stopped, in order that I might commence the tenth volume with an account of Khwarizm and the Jabbal, complete up to this date, and in the mode in which history requires. After I have completed that, I will return to the account of the king's journey to Hindustan down to the end of his life : please God !

### *Beginning of the Tenth Volume<sup>1</sup>*

At the end of the ninth volume I brought the history of Amir Mas'ud down to that period when he had completed his arrangements for proceeding to Hindustan four days after the interview, and there I ended the volume. I begin the tenth with an account of Khwarizm, Re and the Jabbal, and Bu Suhal Hamaduni, and the period of his family's residence here, and their departure, and of my being appointed to the Government of Khwarizm, and, of my

<sup>1</sup> [Page 832.]

losing it and going to Re, and of Altuntash. All this I will mention, to make my history complete. After I have performed this task, I will revert to the history of this king, giving an account of those four days down to the end of his life, of which but little then remained.

I will now commence these two chapters replete with wonders and marvels. Let wise men reflect upon this, and be well assured that man by mere labour and exertion, notwithstanding that he has property, armies, and military stores, can succeed in nothing without the aid of Almighty God. In what was Amir Mas'ud deficient in all the appurtenances of a king?—Pomp, servants, officers of State, lords of the sword and pen, countless armies, elephants and camels in abundance, an overflowing treasury, were all his, but destiny decided that he should live a reign of pain and vexation, and that Khurasan, Khwarizm, Re, and the Jabbal should depart from his hands. What could he do but be patient and resigned to the decree, that "man has no power to strive against fate." This prince made every exertion and collected large armies. Notwithstanding that he was exceedingly independent of the opinion of others, and passed sleepless nights in contemplating his schemes, yet his affairs were ruined, because the Mighty God had decreed from all eternity that Khurasan should be inevitably lost to him, as I have already described, and Khwarizm, Re and the Jabbal in like manner, as I shall shortly relate, in order that this truth may be fully established. God knows what is best!

\* \* \* \* \*

THE END



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